

# THE ROMANIC REVIEW

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J. T. V. H.

## THE ARTHURIAN LEGEND BEFORE 1139

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IN *SPECULUM*, XIV (1939), 357 f. Professor Tatlock made the following statements:

The plain fact is that, with no possibility of disproving that it existed, there is no evidence for a largely developed Arthur-saga anywhere whatever before Geoffrey. There is none in the occurrence in various lands of Arturus, Artusius, etc., as a man's name; none in the Arthurian relief at Modena; none in Geoffrey's *Historia*; none in the writings of his contemporaries or predecessors. Of what has been considered such evidence in writers shortly after him some certainly and the rest probably reflect the immense interest and fresh invention stimulated by the *Historia* itself. Outside Nennius, the *Annales Cambriae*, and the saints' lives, nearly all the evidence for the vogue of Arthur before Geoffrey relates merely to the Briton hope in Wales and Brittany for his messianic return; which no more proves an active cycle of stories about him than American popular observances about Santa Claus prove the familiarity of stories about him.

Any pronouncement by Mr. Tatlock in the field of medieval studies deserves respect. But so do the contrary views on these points of Rajna, Kingsley Porter, Gaston Paris, Gardner, Foerster, and Bédier, not to mention any living scholars. The final appeal, as always must be not to authority but to facts and logic. Since Mr. Tatlock would of course admit that his challenging statements remain to be proved and in fact promises to treat these highly controversial matters more at large, it might seem wise to postpone the appeal to facts and logic until he has fulfilled his promise. But inasmuch as he has already forecast the substance of his argument in a discourse before the Arthurian group of the Modern Language Association in December 1938, which I was privileged to hear, it seems as well to take up the challenge at once. Though several phases of the question might be handled more competently by scholars whom I could name, nevertheless, the points challenged by Mr. Tatlock are those to which I have called attention on two occasions,<sup>1</sup> and it would seem as if the onus of maintaining them fell upon my shoulders. I should like to pay tribute to the scholarly sportsmanship displayed by my opponent, who has graciously elucidated his position on certain matters and supplied me with references on one of his most telling points.

1. *Speculum*, III (1928), 24 ff.; XIII (1938), 221 ff.

In one of these communications he has expressed his view of Geoffrey's relation to the cycle.

Before Geoffrey, Arthur was relatively obscure, somewhat absurd or vague, and without a cycle of stories. Geoffrey made him an important, imposing, and attractive figure; not such, however, as to lend himself much to romance on the basis of what Geoffrey gives. To Arthur, I should think, were attracted tales already existing about others, not or little connected with him, and sheer invention.

The issues are clear: Was there anywhere in the world before 1139, the date when Geoffrey's *Historia* was still a complete novelty to Henry of Huntingdon, the English historian,<sup>2</sup> and could not yet have had any influence on the popular imagination, a cycle of stories about a heroic Arthur? And does the cycle of stories which admittedly existed shortly after 1139 owe its attachment to Arthur to the influence of Geoffrey of Monmouth?

Let us first take up those evidences for a cycle of stories before 1139. For two of them Mr. Tatlock himself has supplied us with an early dating. We omit from consideration the references to Arthur in the *Gododdin* (dated by Professor Ifor Williams *ca.* 600),<sup>3</sup> in Nennius (*ca.* 800),<sup>4</sup> in the *Annales Cambriae* (*ca.* 955),<sup>5</sup> in the *Chronicle of Mont St. Michel* (*ca.* 1056),<sup>6</sup> in the *Liber Floridus* (*ca.* 1120),<sup>7</sup>—references some of which suggest the existence of stories but do not prove it—and those Welsh saints' lives which assign to Arthur an absurd or ignominious role and which certainly have no connection with the later romantic tales. With these exclusions, eleven references remain:

1. **THE TESTIMONY OF HERMAN OF LAON.** The canons of Laon, sent to raise funds for the rebuilding of their cathedral, on their way from Exeter to Bodmin were shown the seat and the oven "illius famosi secundum fabulas Britannorum regis Arthuri."<sup>8</sup> The journey of the canons of Laon took place, as everyone concedes, in 1113. And though M. Faral raised a doubt as to the authenticity of Herman's account,<sup>9</sup> Mr. Tatlock himself has vindicated its authenticity and early dating.<sup>10</sup>

2. E. K. Chambers, *Arthur of Britain*, London, 1927, pp. 44 f., 251.

3. *Canu Aneirin*, ed. I. Williams, Cardiff, 1939, introd. "Gododdin," vs. 1241 f. Prof. Kenneth Jackson kindly brought this to my attention.

4. Nennius et *l'Historia Brittonum*, ed. F. Lot, Paris, 1934, pp. 68-71, 109, 194-196, 216.

5. *Mabinogion*, ed. J. Loth, Paris, 1913, II, 372.

6. R. H. Fletcher, *Arthurian Material in the Chronicles*, Boston, 1906, p. 34.

7. E. Faral, *Légende arthurienne*, première partie, Paris, 1929, I, 256. Cf. R. S. and L. H. Loomis, *Arthurian Legends in Medieval Art*, New York, 1938, p. 15.

8. Faral, *op. cit.*, I, 226 n.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 228-233.

10. *Speculum*, VIII (1933), 454-465.

"It is entirely clear that, with his own work on the history of the Laon church and its bishop Bartholomew, Herman has incorporated, with revisions, two reports from the canons who had made the two journeys, written more than thirty years earlier."<sup>11</sup> "It seems impossible to doubt that, twenty years or so before Geoffrey of Monmouth wrote his *Historia*, they found Cornish men holding their country to be Arthur's, pointing to his chair and oven, and heartily believing him still alive."<sup>12</sup> Moreover, we cannot doubt that by the same evidence King Arthur was already famous as the central figure of certain "fabulae Britannorum" by 1113.

The precise meaning of *Britannorum*, however, demands attention. For these are obviously to be distinguished, as Gröber noted, from those *Britones* who, a few lines further down, Herman states are wont "jurgari cum Francis pro rege Arturo."<sup>13</sup> The *Britones*, as the fact that they quarrel with the French of the Continent suggests, and as further evidence adduced in the following pages demonstrates, were the contemporary inhabitants of Brittany.<sup>14</sup> The *Britanni*, therefore, are clearly identified as insular Celts. It was they who pointed out the seat and oven of Arthur and asserted that theirs was the land of Arthur; it was they whose tales, as told in French, the canons had heard. The passage does not inform us how far these tales had spread, nor does it give any clue as to their content. Some indication as to the content of these tales of the southwest is offered by the fact that the proper names (Gorlois, Britael, Ridcaradoch, Modredus) and the region connected with Arthur's begetting and his last fatal battle, as recounted by Geoffrey of Monmouth, are Cornish.<sup>15</sup> It is possible to ascribe the first three names to Geoffrey's artful effort to render his nomenclature plausible,<sup>16</sup> but not the last, for Modred had no connection with Cornwall except that he

11. *Ibid.*, p. 455.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 465.

13. Faral, *op. cit.*, I, 226 n. Gröber made this distinction in *ZRP*, xx (1896), 426. F. Lot by ignoring this distinction as applied to Brythonic peoples of the twelfth century produced a hopeless confusion. Cf. *R*, xxiv (1895), 499 ff.

14. For evidence cf. Zimmer in *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1890, pp. 793-805; Brugger in *ZFSL*, xx<sup>1</sup> (1898), 79 ff.; *XLIV*<sup>2</sup> (1922), 78 ff.; Chrétien de Troyes, *Karenritter*, ed. W. Foerster, Halle, 1899, pp. cxi-cxxiii; R. S. Loomis, in *MP*, xxxiii (1936), 232-237. Even Lot repeatedly admits that generally in the twelfth century the words *bretons* and *Britones* as applied to contemporaries meant the Continental Bretons. Cf. *R*, xxiv (1895), 500, 505; xxviii (1899), 7. Curiously enough, he argues that Warinus Brito, to whom Henry of Huntingdon wrote in 1139 (E. K. Chambers, *op. cit.*, p. 251), could not have been a Breton since Henry refers to him as a compatriot; as a historian, Lot must have known that the king of England had many subjects of Breton extraction living in England. Cf. *R*, xxiv, 499.

15. *R*, xxviii (1899), 342; xxx (1901), 11. J. Loth, *Contributions à l'étude des romans de la Table Ronde*, Paris, 1912, p. 63 f. A. E. Hutson, *British Personal Names in Historia Regum Britanniae* (*U. of Calif. Pub. in English*, v, 1940), 60, 67 f., 93.

16. Hutson, *loc. cit.*, p. 90 ff.

died there. It is therefore highly probable that all four Cornish name-forms were derived simply and naturally from Cornish stories, remains of the *fabulae Britannorum*, certified by Herman of Laon as existing in 1113.

2. THE "VITA GILDAE" BY CARADOC OF LLANCARFAN. Whereas most of the early Welsh saints' lives which introduce Arthur are hostile to the hero,<sup>17</sup> Caradoc seems to be more sympathetic with the popular view.<sup>18</sup> It is natural, therefore, to find him giving us two stories of Arthur which are a part of the great secular tradition. He tells of a feud between the king and a brother of Gildas, Huwil, and this very same feud is the subject of an allusion in *Kulhwch and Olwen*.<sup>19</sup> He also tells the story of Guinevere's abduction in a form clearly cognate with Chrétien's famous romance.<sup>20</sup> The hagiographic pattern and monkish bias have influenced the secular tale in Caradoc's version, but it is universally recognized that his Melvas is Chrétien's Meleagant.<sup>21</sup> It has been also recognized that Chrétien's description of Maheloa's "isle de voirre" in *Erec*, an elysian isle where there is never any storm or winter, is anticipated by Caradoc's making Melvas king of an "aestiva regio" and of *Glastonbury*, interpreted as the Saxon equivalent of Welsh *Ynisgutrin*, Latin "insula vitrea."<sup>22</sup> The manifold and deep-rooted connections of the theme of Guinevere's abduction with early Celtic tradition have been the subject of numerous studies, of which one may name in particular those of Gaston Paris, Miss Schoepperle, and Professor Cross.<sup>23</sup> Evidently Caradoc of Llancarfan displays familiarity with current secular Arthurian fiction. The crucial question then is: when did he compose the *Vita Gildae*?

Mr. Tatlock has again given us the most carefully reasoned and documented discussion of the date,<sup>24</sup> and his conclusion is: "though it cannot be positively proved, there is every reason to believe his *Vita Gildae* to have been written before, perhaps long before, Geoffrey's *Historia*, and no reason for a date after this."<sup>25</sup> Mr. Tatlock shows that Caradoc in all probability left Llancarfan as a young man in 1086;<sup>26</sup> therefore,

17. Faral, *op. cit.*, I, 236-244.

18. E. K. Chambers, *Arthur of Britain*, pp. 262-264.

19. *Mabinogion*, ed. J. Loth, 1913, I, 273.

20. G. Schoepperle, *Tristan and Isolt*, New York, 1913, II, 528-536; T. P. Cross, W. A. Nitze, *Lancelot and Guenevere*, Chicago, 1930, pp. 3-21, 47 n. 2, 55.

21. J. D. Bruce, *Evolution of Arthurian Romance*, Baltimore, 1923, I, 201.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 200. *Perlesvaus*, ed. W. A. Nitze and others, II (Chicago, 1937), 58.

23. *R*, X (1882), 491, ff.; XII (1884), 512 ff. See also *supra*, note 20.

24. *Speculum*, XIII (1938), 139-152; XIV (1939), 350-353.

25. *Ibid.*, XIV, 353.

26. *Ibid.*, XIII, 145.

he must have been in the neighborhood of seventy in 1136, and not likely to compose his only work after that date.<sup>27</sup> Moreover, Geoffrey's condescending relinquishment of the task of carrying on the history of the Welsh kings to Caradoc<sup>28</sup> must have been inspired by something Caradoc had written. And it is perhaps significant that though William of Malmesbury and the later Glastonbury propagandists oddly neglected the Glastonbury material provided by the *Vita Gildae*, William did, as Mr. Tatlock points out,<sup>29</sup> insert in the third version of his *Gesta Regum* (1135-40) the statement that Gildas spent many years at Glastonbury, and William was possibly the author of the statement in the *De Antiquitatibus* that Gildas died and was buried there. It looks as if both Geoffrey and William knew the *Vita Gildae* as a recent work, but held it in small regard. A plausible date for the book would be the early thirties; an almost certain *terminus ad quem* 1136. Already, then, on Mr. Tatlock's own showing, certain matters referred to in *Kulhwch* and *Olwen* and the main theme of Chrétien's *Chevalier de la Charrette* were in existence.

3. WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY'S "GESTA REGUM ANGLORUM." Here there is no question of date, for all agree that the first edition was completed in 1125. The question is one of interpretation. William says: "Hic est Artur de quo Britonum nugae hodieque delirant, dignus plane quem non fallaces somniarent fabulæ."<sup>30</sup> *Nuga*, as we see from Walter Map's use of the word in his title *De Nughis Curialium*, is a tale which, whether true or false, made little pretense to edification. M. Faral, with whom Mr. Tatlock seems to agree, asserted that the only *nugae* to which William referred consisted of the Breton hope of Arthur's return.<sup>31</sup> We have already observed and shall observe that other romantic tales of Arthur were in circulation. Professor A. C. L. Brown's interpretation of the passage is to be preferred.<sup>32</sup>

There is, moreover, the highly important word *Britonum* to be dealt with. Zimmer and Dr. Brugger assembled ample evidence to show that, while *Britones* as applied to men of Arthur's time meant the insular Britons, its reference in the twelfth century was uniformly to their Continental descendants in Brittany, and even M. Lot admitted this as a

27. *Ibid.*, xiv, 353.

28. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia Regum Britanniae*, ed. A. Griscom, New York, 1929, p. 536.

29. *Speculum*, xiv, 352 n. Cf. William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, ed. W. Stubbs, 1 (London, 1887), 24.

30. Wm. of Malmesbury, *op. cit.*, 1, 11.

31. Faral, *op. cit.*, 1, 250, 260.

32. *Speculum*, II (1927), 449.

general rule, though he vainly tried to prove certain exceptions.<sup>33</sup> It is sufficient to point out that in this instance the evidence is overwhelming. First, we have the testimony of Geoffrey of Monmouth and Giraldus Cambrensis as to contemporary usage. Geoffrey declares that after the time of Cadwallader his countrymen "iam non uocabantur britones set gualenses."<sup>34</sup> Giraldus is equally explicit: "Usque in hodiernum, barbara nuncupatione et homines Wallenses et terra Wallia vocitatur."<sup>35</sup> Secondly, William of Malmesbury's own practice conforms to this rule. Referring to the tenth century, he says: "Britones omnes, quos nos Walenses dicimus."<sup>36</sup> But he calls a Count of Brittany simple "comes Britonum Conanus,"<sup>37</sup> and refers to contemporary Bretons as "Britones transmarini" or simply "Britones."<sup>38</sup> Thirdly, when William records the discovery of Gawain's grave in Wales, he calls Arthur's nephew Walwen,<sup>39</sup> a form utterly unknown in Welsh, equally remote from Gwalchmai, which the Welsh substituted for French Galvain,<sup>40</sup> and from Gwallt-Avwyn, which is more and more clearly indicated as the Welsh source of Galvain.<sup>41</sup> William used a form which was certainly not Welsh and which is very close to the Walwanus and Gwalwanus of the early Cambridge MS of the *Historia Regum Britanniae* used by Griscom as his basic text,<sup>42</sup> and startlingly close to the Walwanus recorded near Padua in 1136.<sup>43</sup> That both of these were Continental forms of the name Gawain will be shown later. Fourthly, the probability that William had heard Breton stories is supported by Bédier's statement that after the battle of Hastings "toute la civilisation normande se trouva brusquement transplantée telle quelle dans les châteaux d'Outre-Manche, et les jongleurs armoricains y suivirent leurs patrons: jongleurs

33. Cf. *supra* note 14. Lot contends (*R.*, xxiv (1895), 500) that the *nugae Britonum* of William of Malmesbury must refer to the insular Celts because it would be "bien singulier" if an Englishman needed to learn Arthurian legends from Bretons of Armorica when the Welsh and Cornish were so much nearer. However, there is nothing strange about the situation if one realizes that England received an influx of Bretons after 1066 and that they were French speakers, whereas the Welsh and the Cornish still had to acquire the language. Evidently the Breton *conteurs* had already made progress in adapting their tales to French tastes when they arrived and rapidly acquired such a reputation as entertainers that even in England they never had any real competition from the Welsh and Cornish *cyfarwyddon*.

34. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *op. cit.*, p. 535.

35. Giraldus Cambrensis, *Opera*, vi, ed. Dimock, London, 1868, 179.

36. William of Malmesbury, *op. cit.*, I, 135.

37. *Ibid.*, I, 211.

38. *Ibid.*, II, 478.

39. *Ibid.*, II, 342.

40. R. S. Loomis, *Celtic Myth and Arthurian Romance*, New York, 1927, p. 64; J. D. Bruce, *op. cit.*, I, 192.

41. *PMLA*, XLII (1928), 388-395; LIV (1939), 656-668.

42. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-33, 444, 474 f., 490-492.

43. R, xvii (1888), 361 f.

armoricains, mais plus qu'à demi romanisés, mais vivant au service de seigneurs français, et content pour leur plaisir."<sup>44</sup> The *Britones* whose *nugae* on the subject of Arthur and Gawain were familiar to William of Malmesbury were certainly professional Breton *conteurs*. We can legitimately infer that these tales, when William wrote in 1125, were also known in Brittany.

4. GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH'S TESTIMONY. In the *Prophetia Merlini* composed in 1134 or 1135 Geoffrey has a brief passage concerning an "aper Cornubiae," which everyone recognizes as Arthur.<sup>45</sup> "In ore populorum celebrabitur et actus ejus cibus erit narrantibus." No modern scholar doubts what has long been suspected, that the *Prophetia Merlini*, in so far as it is not mere rigmarole or an expression of the fond hopes of the Brythonic peoples, is an ex-post-facto prophecy. Does not the Fool in *Lear* exclaim: "This prophecie Merlin shall make, for I live before his time." Therefore, before the publication of Geoffrey's *Historia Arthuris* Arthur's name was on the lips of peoples, and—more important—furnished a livelihood to story-tellers. M. Faral and Mr. Tatlock both assert that there was as yet no cycle of stories attached to him, only the tradition of his messianic return.<sup>46</sup> If this be so, how was it possible for professional reciters to make a living repeating every few minutes the idea "qu'Arthur n'était point mort et devait un jour revenir parmi les Bretons," interspersed with brief topographic remarks on Arthur's chair and oven and Gawain's grave? These were the only legends of Arthur that the secular story-tellers had to tell in 1135 according to M. Faral and Mr. Tatlock, and yet they made a living by it. *Credat Judaeus Apella.*

Again, in the first sentences of his *Historia*, published between 1136 and 1139, Geoffrey states that the deeds of Arthur and many other kings of the Britons were pleasantly rehearsed from memory by word of mouth "a multis populis."<sup>47</sup> Mr. Tatlock, though not disputing the fact alleged by Geoffrey, answered a query of mine concerning the "many peoples," by the interpretation, "I should suppose Celts." Bruce and Rajna supposed quite otherwise.<sup>48</sup> Which supposition is correct? I think no one will deny that only three Celtic peoples had any traditions

44. Thomas, *Tristan*, ed. J. Bédier, II (Paris, 1905), 126 f. Cf. Zimmer in *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1890, pp. 788-791. Zimmer is mistaken in his remarks about Alain Fergant.

45. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *op. cit.*, p. 385 (Bk. VII, ch. 3). Cf. E. K. Chambers, *Arthur of Britain*, p. 25; E. Faral, *Légende arthurienne*, première partie, II, 54.

46. Faral, *op. cit.*, I, 260; *Speculum*, XIV (1939), 358.

47. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

48. J. D. Bruce, *Evolution of Arthurian Romance*, I, 20; *Studi Medievali*, n.s., II (1929), 215.

of Arthur: Welsh, Cornish, and Bretons. Would Mr. Tatlock in any other context than this assert that *multi* meant three? Here was a point on which Geoffrey could not afford to draw the long bow. He numbered among his readers too many clerics, ill informed doubtless as to the days of Brutus, Bladud, and Belinus, but sufficiently aware of what was going on in contemporary Europe. He might lie as he pleased about a book which Archdeacon Walter had brought out of Brittany, for no one could force him to produce the book. But he could not afford to say that tales of Arthur were current among many peoples if only Celts had heard such tales. When he said "a multis populis" he could not have ventured far beyond the truth and he could not have meant three. The acts of Arthur and the other kings—there are plenty of other kings in Welsh and French romance—were, on Geoffrey's own testimony, known outside the Brythonic group of peoples.

In support of this assertion let me quote M. Ferdinand Lot.<sup>49</sup> He says of the form *Walgainus*,<sup>50</sup> which we find in some manuscripts of Geoffrey: "Elle prouverait donc, non pas que la source de Gaufrei est armoricaine, mais qu'elle est française. Ce résultat, important pour la date de propagation des légendes arturiennes, n'aurait rien d'étonnant." In other words, M. Lot realized that tales of Gawain were already circulating among the French when Geoffrey wrote. Altogether Geoffrey himself is one of the best witnesses we have to the antecedent popularity of Arthurian tales outside Celtic territory.

5. THE TESTIMONY OF AILRED OF RIEVAULX. In his *Speculum Cartatis*, written in 1141-42, Ailred tells of a novice in the Yorkshire monastery of Rievaulx who reproached himself because, though in his past secular life he had been frequently moved to tears by "fabulis quae vulgo de nescio quo finguntur Arcturo," by "fabulis et mendaciis," it was almost a miracle if he could extract a tear at a pious reading or discourse.<sup>51</sup> These *fabulae et mendaciae de nescio quo Arcturo* are certainly not the narratives of Geoffrey's *Historia*. If in 1139 Henry of Huntingdon, a historian by vocation, did not detect at once Geoffrey's fraud, a callow novice is hardly to be credited with the discovery two years later. Nor would the Arthur so fully introduced to us in the pseudo-history have been referred to as *nescio quis Arcturus*. Moreover, so far as I know, the narrative of Geoffrey never moved anyone to weeping,

49. *R.*, xxv (1896), 2.

50. Besides *Walwanus*, *Walwanus*, *Galwainus*, *Galgwainus*, *Gualguanus*, *Gwalgwainus*, *Gwalgwanus*, *Gualwanus*. Cf. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia*, ed. Griscom, p. 652.

51. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, cxcv, col. 565. Trans. G. G. Coulton, *Five Centuries of Religion*, Cambridge, 1923, 1, 359. On date cf. *Bulletin of John Rylands Library*, vi (1921-22), 454 f., 478.

whereas we know from the testimony of Peter of Blois that the tales of the minstrels about Arthur, Gawain, and Tristram did.<sup>52</sup>

How then does Mr. Tatlock interpret this confession? He writes:

As to Ailred of Rievaulx (aside from what seems to me the improbability of pre-Geoffrey Arthurian tradition in N. E. Yorkshire), he knew Walter Espec, who certainly before 1147 had a copy of the *Historia Regum Britanniae* (Gaimar). If the anecdote of the novice is "straight goods," I'd attribute it to tale-telling due to the captivating Geoffrey, who had a vogue in S. E. Yorkshire only a year or so later (Alfred of Beverley).

First, as to the improbability of pre-Geoffrey Arthurian tradition in Northern Yorkshire, we have already noted William of Malmesbury's attestation of Breton tales about Arthur; we have already noted M. Bédier's conviction that Breton *conteurs* came with their Norman masters into England after the Conquest. Now when Ailred wrote, Northern Yorkshire had contained for something like seventy-five years a Breton court. Ever since 1069 the greatest fief in the North Riding, the honour of Richmond, had been in the hands of a Breton family, founded by Alan Rufus, second cousin of the Duke of Brittany.<sup>53</sup> Stephen, who was both Earl of Richmond and Count of Penthievre from 1093 to 1137, inherited extensive lands in Brittany, spending much of his time there, and many tenants of the "honour" were of Breton origin.<sup>54</sup> In the entourage of these counts of Richmond and Brittany we encounter such Breton names as Conan, the count's chaplain, Ruald, the constable, Guiomar, the steward.<sup>55</sup> Alan III, the earl at the time Ailred was writing, calls himself "Alanus comes Anglie et indigena comesque Britannie."<sup>56</sup> If there was one place in all England where on grounds of antecedent probability one could assume that Breton *conteurs* told their enthralling tales of the Arthurian cycle in French, it would be in the North Riding of Yorkshire. And Richmond was only about thirty miles away from Rievaulx.

Secondly, let us see whether Geffrei Gaimar, writing about 1147, offers any better explanation of these *fabulae et mendaciae de nescio quo Arcturo*. He merely tells us that he used in the composition of his *Estorie des Engles*, along with various other works, a manuscript identifiable with the *Historia Regum Britanniae*, which a Lady FitzGilbert of

52. E. K. Chambers, *Arthur of Britain*, p. 267.

53. *Victoria History of County of York, North Riding*, ed. W. Page, 1 (London, 1914), 2 f.; P. Jeulin, "Un grand 'Honneur' anglais," *Annales de Bretagne*, XLII (1935), 265 ff.

54. C. T. Clay, *Early Yorkshire Charters*, IV (1935), ix.

55. *Ibid.*, IV, 11, 15, 16. On these names cf. J. Loth, *Contributions à l'étude des romans de la Table Ronde*, Paris, 1912, p. 98; *ZFSL*, XLIX, 202 ff.

56. Clay, *op. cit.*, IV, 29.

Scampton, Lincs., had borrowed from her husband, who had borrowed it from Walter Espec, who had in turn asked for the copy and received it from Robert of Gloucester, one of the dedicatees.<sup>57</sup> There can be no doubt that Ailred knew Walter Espec, pious founder of Rievaulx Abbey.<sup>58</sup> But putting two and two together does not help us much in this instance, for Espec's Latin book and the tales which Ailred's novice at Rievaulx had known before 1141 could have had little connection. If Ailred had read Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia*, would he have permitted, even in the mouth of a novice, the allusion to Arthur as *nescio quis Arcturus?* Moreover, as Mr. Tatlock and M. Faral should be the first to recognize, it is a pure assumption that Espec's book even existed in 1141. It is hardly cricket to postulate that copies of the *Historia* were in existence in any year convenient for one's theories, and at the same time rigorously challenge the existence of any oral tradition before the date at which it is certified. But the most serious objection to the belief that the novice had heard wide-spread tales of Arthur inspired by Espec's manuscript is the fact that Geoffrey wrote in Latin. Giraldus Cambrensis makes it clear that even in his more cultivated day works in Latin appealed to only a very select few of the nobility; that in order to get any recognition it was necessary to have the work translated into French.<sup>59</sup> Espec himself probably had his *Historia* orally translated for him by his chaplain or other cleric. On the basis of generally admitted facts, it is hard to believe that anybody except a few clerics, had actually read Espec's manuscript before it was lent to the FitzGilberts, and hardly anyone else knew the contents except a few noble friends of Espec. One Latin manuscript in lay hands was not likely to extend its influence very far in the troublesome reign of Stephen. It had to await peace and a French translation. Bédier's theory of the propagation of the *chansons de geste* offers no parallel. There were powerful reasons why the clergy of St. Denis, Vézelay, and St. Guilhem, should explore their Latin chronicles and charters, and encourage lay minstrels to compose poems in honor of Charlemagne, Guillaume d'Orange, and Girard de Roussillon. It is quite the opposite with the clergy or the nobility of Yorkshire; they had, so far as we can judge, no particular motive to compose or to cause others to compose moving tales of Arthur just because they had been reading Geoffrey of Monmouth. Only one exception occurs to me. The Breton lords of

57. E. K. Chambers, *op. cit.*, pp. 260 f.; *Modern Language Review*, xxv (1930), 75.

58. Ailred describes Espec's appearance in *Relatio de Standardo*. Cf. *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, ed. R. Howlett, iii (London, 1886), 183.

59. Giraldus Cambrensis, *Opera*, ed. Dimock, v, (London, 1867), 410 f.

Richmond would have had a motive, but they did not need the spur of Geoffrey's book. They already had their "nugae Britonum."

Thirdly, there is the assertion of Alfred of Beverley writing in south-eastern Yorkshire about 1149. This, though it proves nothing as to conditions eight years earlier (no one is more insistent than Mr. Tatlock that we cannot accept the existence of anything until the year when it is first attested), does seem to prove that in 1149 stories based on Geoffrey were wide-spread.

Ferebantur tunc temporis per ora multorum narrationes de historia Britonum, notamque rusticitatis incurrebat qui talium narrationum scientiam non habebat. . . . Quaesivi historiam, et ea vix inventa, lectioni eius intentissime studium adhibui.<sup>60</sup>

Since *historiam* in the latter sentence certainly means Geoffrey's book, must not *historia* in the first sentence refer to the same? This interpretation is logical but not satisfactory. If Geoffrey's Latin work was so accessible and so commonly read that all who considered themselves more than boors knew the stories, at least by hearsay, how did it come about that a Latin-reading cleric interested in history, Alfred of Beverley, was among the last to hear about it? This seems as probable as that Mr. Tatlock should have been led to look into M. Faral's *La Légende arthurienne* only after everybody on the Berkeley campus was talking about it.

A more cautious interpretation of the passage would seem to be this. The "narrationes de historia Britonum," told by many and familiar to all cultivated persons, must be the "fallaces fabulae" known to William of Malmesbury, the *gesta* of Arthur and many others which according to Geoffrey "a multis populis quasi inscripta iocunde et memoriter praedicarentur," the "fabulae de nescio quo Arcturo" which had so often moved Ailred's novice. These we know enjoyed a great vogue; these we know were circulated "per ora multorum." If Alfred of Beverley refers to them as "narrationes de historia Britonum," the explanation is not far to seek. With these *fabulae* were now mingled assertions that they were not to be taken for mere lies, because there was to be seen at Espec's castle of Helmsley or elsewhere a sober chronicle which corroborated some of the facts. Alfred, therefore, speaks respectfully of the tales, tries to find the sober chronicle, which turns out to be the *Historia Regum Britanniae*. This in my opinion seems a more reasonable interpretation of the passage than the supposition that while all the knowledgeable folk in Yorkshire had been captivated by Geoffrey, pre-

60. E. K. Chambers, *op. cit.*, p. 260.

sumably either because there were manuscripts in every castle and monastery library, or because some of their friends possessed a remarkable faculty of emotional recitation of the tales, Alfred, the one man in Yorkshire who had ambitions to write of ancient British history, remained in ignorance of the great literary sensation.

Not only, therefore, does a knowledge of the *Historia* on the part of Gaimar and Alfred between 1147 and 1150 postdate by a few years the testimony of Ailred of Rievaulx to the existence of *fabulae* about Arthur as a most powerful form of secular fiction, but evidently the *Historia* does not account for their genesis. The fact that Ailred knew Espec and that Espec possessed a Geoffrey manuscript is an irrelevant coincidence. Neither Ailred nor his novice is likely to have referred to stories culled from the *Historia* as *mendaciae*, as *fabulae de nescio quo Arcturo*; moreover, as I shall emphasize more fully later, when we do get written *fabulae* and *mendaciae* about Arthur in England in the *lais* of Biquet and Marie de France and the *Tristan* of Thomas, the narrative plot owes nothing to Geoffrey or Wace.<sup>61</sup> Taken in conjunction with the other early evidence which we have reviewed, Ailred's witness must be interpreted as a reference to the emotional power of the Breton *conteurs* at the time that Geoffrey was writing his work or very shortly after.

On the basis, then, of the five witnesses thus far examined whose evidence concerns Arthurian tradition before or about 1139, we come to certain conclusions: the stories were sufficiently numerous, varied, and fascinating to furnish a livelihood to professional reciters; they were often too fantastic to be regarded as sober history; one at least of them shows affinities with *Kulhwch and Olwen* and Chrétien's *Chevalier de la Charrette*; they were already told by many peoples including those of the Continent; Breton *conteurs* seem to have been the main agency for their dissemination outside Wales and Cornwall.

Let us now turn to the remaining six witnesses. The dates of five of them are more open to question than the dates of the five already cited, but all seem to refer with great probability, if not certainty, to conditions prevailing before 1139. Do they or do they not harmonize with and corroborate the evidence already produced?

6. "KULHWCH AND OLWEN." Here beyond dispute is an elaborate piece of fiction, which not only proves the existence in Wales of romantic stories of Arthur, but also reveals significant analogies to the pre-Geoffrey traditions already examined and to later French and English romances. It displays acquaintance, as has been noted, with the

61. M. Pelan, *L'Influence du Brut de Wace*, Paris, 1931, 96 f., 123 f.

feud of Arthur and Hueil related by Caradoc of Llancarfan.<sup>62</sup> It knows of the abduction of another king's wife by Gwynn ap Nudd,<sup>63</sup> who by one tradition had his palace on Glastonbury Tor;<sup>64</sup> the assembling of an army by the outraged husband; a battle; and the settlement of the dispute by the intervention of a third party—a story which reveals a marked parallelism (though the names are different) to the story of Guinevere's abduction as told by Caradoc. It contains certain commonplaces of the later romances:<sup>65</sup> the youthful hero sets out for Arthur's court; Kai takes a churlish attitude and receives Arthur's rebuke; the youth rides on horseback into the hall and demands a boon, which Arthur grants. Moreover, as in Chrétien's *Ivain*, he meets a giant herdsman;<sup>66</sup> as in *The Carl of Carlisle*, he arrives at a giant's castle and hurls spears at the giant, who is the father of his *amie* and destined wife.<sup>67</sup> *Kulhwch* also contains the full story of the Twrch Trwyth, a boar, son of a prince,<sup>68</sup> mentioned as the "porcus Troit" in the *additamenta* to *Nennius*, and also in the continuation of the *Conte del Graal* as Tortain, a boar, son of a magician.<sup>69</sup> Professor Singer has pointed out that the eyelids of Yspaddaden are paralleled in *Rigomer*.<sup>70</sup> Here, then, is a Welsh romance which displays unmistakable connections with the oldest (*Nennius' mirabilia*) as well as the latest (*Carl of Carlisle*) traditional Arthurian literature. The only question is the date of *Kulhwch*.

On this matter, of course, the only competent authority is the testimony of Celtists, and the overwhelming weight of that authority is in favor of a date before the *Historia Regum Britanniae*. Professor Thurneysen, recognized everywhere as among the greatest of Celtic scholars, assigns *Kulhwch* to the first quarter of the twelfth century.<sup>71</sup> M. Vendryes, editor of the *Revue Celtique*, suggests the end of the eleventh.<sup>72</sup> Gwenogvryn Evans, cataloguer of Welsh manuscripts for the Royal

62. *Mabinogion*, ed. J. Loth, 1913, I, 273.

63. *Ibid.*, I, 331 f.

64. C. Guest, *Mabinogion*, London, 1849, II, 325; S. Baring-Gould, J. Fisher, *Lives of the British Saints*, IV (London, 1913), 377; *Y Graal*, London, 1805, p. 340.

65. *Mabinogion*, ed. J. Loth, 1913, I, 248-258.

66. *Ibid.*, p. 289; R. S. Loomis, *Celtic Myth and Arthurian Romance*, New York, 1927, pp. 118-122; R. Zenker, *Ivainstudien (Beihefte zur ZRP*, LXX, Halle, 1921), 238-249.

67. *Mabinogion*, ed. Loth, I, 299; Loomis, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

68. *Mabinogion*, ed. Loth, I, 310, 336; *Perlesvaus*, ed. W. A. Nitze and others, II (Chicago, 1937), 142 f.; J. Rhys, *Celtic Folklore, Welsh and Manx*, Oxford, 1901, II, 509-537.

69. F. Lot, *Nennius et l'Historia Brittonum*, Paris, 1934, p. 217. For form of name cf. *Perlesvaus*, ed. Nitze, II, 143; R, XXVIII (1899), 217 n., 578.

70. S. Singer, *Germanisch-romanesches Mittelalter*, Zürich, 1935, 178 f.; *Mabinogion*, trans. T. P. Ellis, J. Lloyd, Oxford, 1929, I, 197; *Merveilles de Rigomer*, ed. Foerster, Breuer, Dresden, 1908, I, vs. 3543 ff.

71. *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, XII (1918), 283; XX (1936) 133. I regret to say, however, that I do not find Thurneysen's argument acceptable.

72. *Revue Celtique*, XLVIII (1931), 411.

Historical Commission and acknowledged expert in paleography, testifies: "The Winning of Olwen is the oldest in language [of the *Mabinogion*]. . . . The name of Arthur, it is argued, does not occur in the Four Branches, therefore they are older than Geoffrey. The name of Arthur does occur in *Kulhwch*, therefore it is later than Geoffrey, or at least Arthurian incidents have been grafted on older tales. It is a workable theory; it is clear, concise, and plausible. But for all that the linguistic test of the respective texts of the *White Book* challenges it."<sup>73</sup> The most recent scholarship seems to be represented by Saunders Lewis writing in 1932: "We examine the oldest tales written in our language, namely the *Four Branches of the Mabinogi* and *Kulhwch and Olwen*, which are thought to have been composed before the beginning of the twelfth century or shortly afterwards."<sup>74</sup> The matter was most fully argued by Joseph Loth on linguistic grounds, and he came to the conclusion, maintained to the end of his life, that *Kulhwch* belonged to the late eleventh or early twelfth century.<sup>75</sup> The unanimous verdict of scholars who are most entitled to an opinion in the matter is that *Kulhwch and Olwen* was written down as we have it before 1139.

7. BLEHERIS, THE WELSH CONTEUR. Though the transmission of Arthurian tales to the Continent has been shown to have been through the medium of the Bretons,<sup>76</sup> nevertheless, there is an astonishing amount of evidence to show that the most famous of the early Arthurian *conteurs* on the Continent was a Welshman by birth.<sup>77</sup> The fullest record of his activity is that of Wauchier de Denain, who, telling in the *Conte del Graal* the adventures of Gawain and a certain dwarf knight, cites as his authority Bleheris,

*Qui fu nes e engemuis  
En Gales dont je cont le conte,  
Et qui si le contoit au conte  
De Poitiers, qui amoit l'estoire*

73. *White Book Mabinogion*, ed. J. G. Evans, Pwllheli, 1907, p. xiv.

74. S. Lewis, *Braslyn o Hanes Llynyddiaeth Gymraeg*, Cardiff, p. 36 f.

75. *Mabinogion*, ed. J. Loth, 1913, I, 28, 39-41; Loth, *Contributions à l'étude des romans de la Table Ronde*, 42-45; *Moyen age*, xli (1931), 309.

76. *MP*, xxxiii (1936), 232-238.

77. The most important articles on Bleheris are: J. L. Weston, *R*, xxxiv (1905), 100; E. Levi, *Studi Romanzi*, xiv (1917), 113; E. Brugger, *ZFSL*, xlvi (1924), 162; R. S. Loomis, *MLN*, xxxix (1924), 319; *R*, lxxi (1927), 82; J. Van Dam, *Neophilologus*, xv (1929), 30-34. There is nothing in what we know of Bleheris which would suggest that he wrote poems, and the hypothesis which would identify the *fabulator* or *conteur* with a Welsh noble, Bleddri ap Cadivor, ignores the social chasm which existed between the professional entertainers and their patrons. Cf. Mary Williams, in *Etudes Céltiques*, iv (1937), 219 ff. For contemptuous attitude of poets to these *conteurs* cf. *MP*, xxxiii, 235 f.

*Et le tenoit en grant memoire  
Plus que nul autre ne faisoit.<sup>78</sup>*

The authenticity of this reference is borne out by several facts. The description of the dwarf knight which immediately follows corresponds to the Welsh popular conception of dwarfs as recorded by Giraldus Cambrensis.<sup>79</sup> The reputation of Bleheris as an Arthurian authority is proved by the fact that Pseudo-Wauchier cites him also,<sup>80</sup> that Thomas in his *Tristan* (ca. 1185) refers to Breri (admittedly the same person) as one

*Ky solt les gestes e les cuntes  
De tuz les reis, de tuz les cuntes  
Ki orient esté en Bretaigne.<sup>81</sup>*

In what is probably an interpolation in the *Elucidation* prefixed to the *Conte del Graal* Maistre Blihis (the form, as Dr. Brugger maintains,<sup>82</sup> is a corruption due to the omission of the sign for *-er*) is alleged as authority for saying that the secrets of the Grail must not be revealed.<sup>83</sup> The same little poem introduces a knight Blihos Bliheris,<sup>84</sup> who, though he certainly was not in any literal sense identical with the *conteur* Bleheris, nevertheless must have acquired by association of names the outstanding professional attribute of the Welshman, for

*si tresbons contes savoit  
Que nus ne se peüst lasser  
De ses paroles escouter.*

About 1194 Giraldus in his *Descriptio Cambriae* attaches the responsibility for a jest about fishing-coracles to "famosus ille fabulator Bledhericus, qui tempora nostra paulo praevenit."<sup>85</sup> Thus there is ample testimony that a famous professional story-teller of Welsh birth existed and that French and Anglo-Norman poets knew his reputation and invoked him as authority for stories of Tristram, Gawain, and the Grail. That he really did visit a count of Poitiers, as Wauchier asserts, is borne out by the fact that the earliest references to Tristram as a famous lover come in the 1150's from two troubadours, Cercamon and Bernard de

78. J. L. Weston, *Legend of Sir Perceval*, 1 (London, 1906), 288.

79. L. A. Paton, *Studies in the Fairy Mythology of Arthurian Romance*, Boston, 1903, pp. 127-129. Cf. R. S. Loomis, "Arthur in the Antipodes," *MP*, February 1941.

80. *R.* xxxiii (1904), 338; Weston, *op. cit.*, 1, 241.

81. Thomas, *Tristan*, ed. J. Bédier, 1, 377; II, 95-99.

82. *ZFSL*, XLVII, 163 n. 2.

83. *Elucidation*, ed. A. W. Thompson, New York, 1931, p. 86.

84. *Ibid.*, p. 91. Cf. also p. 81.

85. Giraldus Cambrensis, *Opera*, vi (London, 1868), 202.

Ventadour, both intimately associated with the court of Poitou.<sup>86</sup> If we realize that Bleheris must have given his enthralling recitals in French, and that his stories were versions already acclimated on the Continent, probably improved versions of the stock-in-trade of Breton *conteurs*,<sup>87</sup> his career as sketched by Wauchier accords with all the pertinent facts.

But once more there is the question of date; when did the visit to the Count of Poitou take place? Giraldus says that Bledhericus "tempora nostra paulo praevenit."<sup>88</sup> Though M. Lot once introduced as his candidate for identification with Bledhericus a certain Bishop Bleddri who died 172 years before the publication of the *Descriptio Cambriae*,<sup>89</sup> we can be sure that Giraldus did not mean any such interval by the word "paulo." He used a similar phrase in the *Itinerarium Cambriae*, written about 1191: "Parum autem ante haec nostra tempora;"<sup>90</sup> and here we can define his meaning, for he refers to an amazing experience which happened at the age of twelve to a priest, who told the story as an old man to Giraldus' uncle, David, who held the see of St. David's from 1148 to 1176.<sup>91</sup> If the priest was sixty-two years old when he told the story, and he told it in the first year of David's episcopacy, then we should have the year 1098 as the upper limit for the meaning of "parum ante haec nostra tempora;" if he were fifty-two years old and he told it in the last year of David's episcopacy, then we should have 1136 as the lower limit. We add a few years to these dates since Giraldus wrote the *Descriptio* some three years later than the *Itinerarium*. We shall probably not be far wrong, then, if we conclude that Bleheris flourished between 1100 and 1140.

There remains the identification of the Count of Poitiers. M. Lot, in the same article in which he suggested the possibility that Bleheris might have been a bishop who died in 1022, made a case for the identification of the Count of Poitiers, with the celebrated troubadour, William VII, who held the title of Count of Poitou and Duke of Aquitaine from 1086 to 1127. The significant point is that, a century after his death, about the time when Wauchier coupled Bleheris with the "conte de Poitiers," a Provençal referred to the renowned troubadour simply as "lo coms de Peitieus."<sup>92</sup> To be sure, it is possible that William VIII, who ruled Poitou and Aquitaine for ten years after his father's death

86. *ZRP*, xli (1921), 223 ff.; *MP*, xix (1922), 287 ff.

87. *MLN*, xxxix (1924), 326 f.; *R*, lxi (1927), 96-99; *ZFSL*, xlvi (1924), 169 n.

88. Cf. *supra*, note 85.

89. *R*, li (1925), 406.

90. Giraldus Cambrensis, *op. cit.*, vi, 75.

91. *Ibid.*, p. 104 n. 1.

92. A. Richard, *Histoire des Comtes de Poitou*, Paris, 1903, 1, 502.

in 1127, may have been the count who enjoyed Bleheris' recital—a view held at first by Miss Weston and by Professor Levi and to which I once subscribed. Yet he achieved no such fame and notoriety as William VII, is less likely to have been referred to simply as "le conte de Poitiers," and though the troubadour Cercamon wrote an elegy for him, unlike his father he seems to have shown little interest in the *gai saber*. Though the troubadour count seems the more probable patron of Bleheris, yet either he or his son would fit within the chronological limits suggested by Giraldus' reference to Bledhericus. All this converging testimony, therefore, would make it practically certain that the Welsh *fabulator* was reciting his tales of Tristram and Gawain at the court of Poitou before 1137.<sup>93</sup>

8. THE "COURONNEMENT LOUIS." As Warren pointed out many years ago,<sup>94</sup> signs of the circulation of Arthurian legend on the Continent are found in this, one of the earliest of the *chansons de geste*, dated by Ernest Langlois about 1130.<sup>95</sup> Twice in this patriotic French epic, composed in the Ile de France, occurs the phrase "tot l'or d'Avalon," both times in *laisse* xliii, which affords strong linguistic evidence of antiquity.<sup>96</sup> There can be little doubt that the Avalon is the elysian isle of Arthurian fable, for no other place of the name had any special repute for riches. But nothing in Geoffrey's *Historia* or Wace describes an abundance of gold in Avalon. In Geoffrey's *Vita Merlini* (date 1150-51) Arthur's bed in the Isle of Apples is golden, but Avalon is not mentioned.<sup>97</sup> It is then highly improbable, first, that the *Couronnement* is later in date than the *Vita Merlini*; secondly, that in any case it derived from Geoffrey the gold of Avalon. Curiously enough, it is another

93. Dr. Brugger once argued (ZFSL, xxxi<sup>2</sup> (1907), 153-158) that the Count of Poitiers must have been Henry of Anjou after he married Eleanor of Poitou in 1152 and before he became King of England in 1154. There are several objections to this view. For one thing Brugger mistakenly dated the *Descriptio Cambriae* between 1210 and 1220, and so arrived at a date some fifteen to twenty-five years too late. Secondly, the actual limits of the time when Henry was Count of Poitou before he ascended the English throne were May 18, 1152 and August 17, 1153, when his eldest son William was made Duke of Aquitaine and presumably Count of Poitou (Richard, *op. cit.*, II, 110, 115). It would be strange that Wauchier writing some fifty years later should have referred to Henry by such a title. Thirdly, Bernard de Ventadour, who did know Henry after his marriage to Eleanor of Poitou, never refers to him as Count of Poitiers but as the Duke of Normandy or the King of England. Their son Richard was called "li cuens de Poitiers" from 1169 till he became king (*ibid.*, p. 150 n. 1), but since Giraldus was twenty-two years old when Richard acquired the title, this identification cannot be reconciled with the fact that Bleheris made his visit to the count a little before Giraldus' time.

94. *MLN*, XIV (1899), 48.

95. *Couronnement Louis*, ed. E. Langlois, 1920, p. vii; ed. of 1888, p. clxx.

96. *Speculum*, III (1928), 24 n. 1.

97. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Vita Merlini*, ed. J. J. Parry (*University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature*, 1925), p. 85.

*chanson de geste*, the *Bataille Loquifer*, composed by Graindor de Brie, which gives us our first elaborate picture of the gold of Avalon.

*La mestre tour estoit si compassée  
N'i avoit pierre ne fust à or fondée . . .  
La couverture fu à or tregetée,  
Sus j. pommel fu l'aygle d'or fermée.<sup>98</sup>*

Freymond proved that the *Bataille Loquifer* in its account of Arthur in the Otherworld betrays some knowledge of the Welsh traditions of the Cath Paluc.<sup>99</sup> The Welsh conception of the Otherworld in the twelfth century emphasized the store of gold.<sup>100</sup> It cannot be regarded, therefore, as mere coincidence that two French poems should know of the gold of Avalon, one of them as early as 1130. Both must have been acquainted with a genuine tradition of Welsh origin, communicated to the French world by Breton *conteurs*.<sup>101</sup>

9. THE "PÈLERINAGE CHARLEMAGNE." This again is regarded on linguistic grounds as one of the oldest of the *chansons de geste*, but unfortunately opinions differ as to the date, and while Voretzsch puts it shortly after 1109,<sup>102</sup> others would place it in the second quarter of the century.<sup>103</sup> It is not possible, then, to assert with confidence that the poem antedates the publication of the *Historia Regum Britanniae*. But even if it were composed as late as 1145, it would be difficult to reconcile its existence with any vogue for Arthurian romance established by Geoffrey of Monmouth. For this burlesque epic has been demonstrated by a succession of scholars to be full of Irish and Arthurian motifs, and this state of affairs, as I shall presently show, implies an elaborate Arthurian *conte* as a source for almost everything but the visit to Jerusalem. Now since the *Historia* was still little known to English clerics in 1139 and 1141 and, of course, could not have reached the French laity till later, it is next to impossible that it could have stimulated the production of an Arthurian romance in time to stimulate in turn a Carolingian adaptation by 1145.

98. Le Roux de Lincy, *Livre des légendes*, Paris, 1836, p. 250.

99. *Beiträge zur Romanischen Philologie, Festgabe für G. Gröber*, Halle, 1899, p. 311 ff.

100. *Mabinogion*, ed. Loth, 1913, 1, 87: "C'était bien de toutes les cours qu'il avait vues au monde, la mieux pourvue . . . de vaisselle d'or et de bijoux royaux." *Giraldus Cambrensis, op. cit.*, vi, 76: ". . . auri quo abundabat regio. . . ."

101. The Breton transmission is determined, not only by considerations already presented, but also by the fact that the form Avalon never occurs in Welsh texts. Cf. *RR*, xxix (1938), 176 f.; *MP*, xxxiii, 234 f.

102. C. Voretzsch, *Introduction to the Study of Old French Literature*, trans. Du Mont, New York, 1931, p. 176.

103. J. Coulet, *Etudes sur l'ancien poème français du Voyage de Charlemagne*, Montpellier, 1907, p. 69. Bédier, Hazard, *Histoire de la littérature française illustrée*, Paris, 1923, 1, 9.

The peculiarity of the *Pèlerinage* is that though it contains no Arthurian allusion like the *Couromnement* and no obvious borrowing from the Round Table cycle like the *Bataille Loquifer*, it has long been recognized as showing marked affinities to Irish literature on the one hand and to Arthurian romance on the other. Of course, the visit to Jerusalem and the obtaining of the relics form a separate element with its own tradition, linked to the fair of Lendit.<sup>104</sup> But Professor Thurneysen first detected reminiscences of old Celtic story-telling, and Professors Webster, Reinhard, Cross, and Laura Hibbard Loomis have pointed out Irish parallels.<sup>105</sup> Their cogency was recognized by Bédier.<sup>106</sup> Child, Gaston Paris, Huet, Professors Kittredge and Webster have pointed out several Arthurian analogs.<sup>107</sup> These are to be found in *Humbaut*, *Rigomer*, *Arthur and Gorlagon*, *De Ortu Walwanii*, *Diu Crone*, *King Arthur and King Cornwall*, *Meraugis de Portlesquez*, the *Prose Lancelot*, *Artus de la Petite Bretagne*, and the *Avowing of Arthur*.<sup>108</sup> The fact that the *Pèlerinage* contains several noteworthy Irish features should alone suggest that its main plot is based on an Arthurian *conte* transferred to Charlemagne, and this suspicion is corroborated by the fact that parallels are found in ten Arthurian stories. It is clinched by the fact that not one of these ten parallels contains the slightest trace of the Carolingian and ecclesiastical character of the *Pèlerinage*—not one hint of Charlemagne, of Jerusalem or Constantinople, of relics or celestial intervention. Probably no story-tellers stole from each other more freely than those of the Middle Ages, but they were seldom experts in removing the tell-tale marks of origin. That all ten Arthurian romancers should have been particularly cautious and particularly expert in this regard is a preposterous supposition. And yet if we reject it, we are left with only one other hypothesis to account for the Celtic and Arthurian relations of the *Pèlerinage*; namely, that the *chanson* itself, apart from the story of

104. J. Bédier, *Légendes épiques*, ed. 3, iv (Paris, 1929), 137 ff.

105. R. Thurneysen, *Keltoromanisches*, Halle, 1884, pp. 18–21; *Englische Studien*, xxxvi (1906), 337 ff.; *MP*, xxv (1928), 331 ff.; *Univ. of Michigan Publications in Lang. and Lit.*, viii, 27 ff.

106. Bédier, *op. cit.*, iv, 154 n.

107. F. J. Child, *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, 1882–98, i, 274 ff.; *Hist. litt. de la France*, xxx, 110 f.; R. xli (1912), 531 ff.; *Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, viii (Boston, 1903), 212 f.; *Englische Studien*, xxxvi (1906), 337 ff.

108. *Humbaut*, ed. Stürzinger and Breuer, Dresden, 1914, pp. 2–5; *Merveilles de Rigomer*, ed. W. Foerster, Dresden, 1908, i, 470–482; *Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, viii, 150 f.; Heinrich von dem Türlin, *Diu Crone*, ed. G. H. F. Scholl, Stuttgart, 1852, vs. 3356 ff.; *Historia Meriadoci and De Ortu Walwanii*, ed. J. D. Bruce, Baltimore, 1913, p. 86 f.; Child, *op. cit.*, i, 283 ff.; Raoul de Houdenc, *Meraugis de Portlesquez*, ed. M. Friedwagner, Halle, 1897, p. 70 f.; H. O. Sommer, *Vulgate Version of Arthurian Romances*, iv (Washington, 1911), 266 f.; *Arthur of Little Britain*, trans. Berners, London, 1814, p. 139 f.; W. H. French, C. B. Hale, *Middle English Metrical Romances*, New York, 1930, p. 611 f.

the relics, is a *rifacimento* of an early Arthurian *conte*. To this theory there can be no objection except that it postulates knowledge of Arthurian *contes* in the neighborhood of Paris before the date of the *Pèlerinage*, and that, we have seen, is no objection at all.

10. THE MODENA ARCHIVOLT. Mr. Gerould and I have already discussed at length in the pages of *Speculum* the problem of dating this assuredly Arthurian sculpture over the north doorway of Modena cathedral in the Po valley;<sup>109</sup> and I should not go into the matter again if it were not that Mr. Tatlock's statement quoted at the beginning of this article did not show that arguments from architectural history, military costume, and horse furniture had no validity for him. In a private communication he has kindly made his position clear. "I have no new evidence worth mentioning as to the date of the Modena sculpture, whether early or late twelfth century. My feeling is that the latter date has rather the best of it, and I of course feel, as some others I realize don't, a strong *a priori* probability in its favor. I also feel that to date a work of art within a generation or two on the kind of evidence adduced in this case is risky business."

I think it is not unfair to Mr. Tatlock to say that on this matter he has no cogent evidence; he has only feelings, particularly a very significant feeling as to *a priori* probabilities in favor of a late dating, to which I shall return later. Meanwhile, to such impressionism I wish to oppose three substantial arguments, arguments which cannot be dismissed as "risky business." These are: *a.* the opinions of unbiased art experts; *b.* a chronological sequence of Italian sculptures of unquestioned date, by which the uninitiated can judge with their own eyes where the Modena archivolt belongs; *c.* the evidence of names carved on the sculpture.

In presenting the opinions of art experts I deliberately omit those, even the most distinguished, who are prominently involved in the controversy over the priority of Lombard sculpture. I cite only those who cannot be accused of *parti pris*, and therefore omit the direct testimony of Kingsley Porter as the chief champion of an early date.<sup>110</sup> Venturi, whose *Storia dell'arte italiana* has long been a classic work, declared: "La porta della Pescheria dovette esistere già nel tempio costruito da Lanfranco e inaugurato il 30 di aprile 1106."<sup>111</sup> Von Vitzthum, formerly professor at Göttingen, author of *Die Malerei und Plastik des Mittelalters*, assigned the archivolt to the contemporaries of Wiligelmus, early in

109. *Speculum*, x (1935), 355 ff.; xiii (1938), 221 ff.

110. A. K. Porter, *Lombard Architecture*, New Haven, 1917, iii, 16.

111. A. Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, iii (Milan, 1904), 160.

the twelfth century.<sup>112</sup> Important is the statement of Camille Martin, author of the sumptuous volume, *L'Art roman en Italie*: "L'unité de la construction prouve en tout cas que les travaux furent achevés en grande partie au commencement du XII siècle,"<sup>113</sup> and he refers specifically to the Porta della Pescheria as already existing in 1106. This, be it noted, is an admission from a French expert. Professor Frankl, formerly of Halle, recognized as one of the greatest authorities on the architectural history of the Middle Ages, has already been quoted in my previous article as placing the sculptural activity on the façade and the north portal in the first twenty years of the twelfth century.<sup>114</sup> Professor Panofsky of the Institute for Advanced Study and Dr. Saxl of the Warburg Institute in a joint article write as follows: "Thus as early as about 1100 we are struck by the remarkable relationship between the two opposite regions of Italy (as witness the sculptures of Bari and Modena)."<sup>115</sup> The reference is obvious to the connections between the two archivolts at Bari and Modena, discussed in my previous article.<sup>116</sup> Professors Toesca and Robb both attribute the work of Wiligelmo on the façade of Modena cathedral to the first years of the twelfth century, and recognize that the archivolt is the work of early disciples.<sup>117</sup> Professor Morey of Princeton graciously permits me to quote from a letter of his of December 7, 1927. "I have thought that Porter was right and Mâle was wrong on the date of the Modena Sculptures, and I am glad to see you bring a convincing evidence in support of the early date." Finally, it is most significant that Mrs. Krautheimer-Hess, who wrote an elaborate and impressive dissertation at Marburg, dating the early Modena sculptures about 1150, has since written to my colleague, Professor Schapiro (August 12, 1929): "Dass meine Datierung der Porta della Pescheria um die Mitte des Jahrhunderts um 20-30 Jahre zu spät angenommen ist, war mir selbst schon seit einiger Zeit klar. Zum mindesten, soweit es die Archivolte betrifft."

So far as I am aware, no art historian in the United States, Italy, England, or Germany has placed the early Modena sculptures, including the Arthurian relief, later than 1130. Only M. Mâle and M. Deschamps among all the experts in medieval art are still committed to the view that

112. G. von Vitzthum, *Die Malerei und Plastik des Mittelalters*, 1924, p. 80 f.

113. C. Martin, *L'Art roman en Italie*, Paris, 1912, I, 8 f.

114. *Jahrbuch für Kunswissenschaft*, 1927, p. 46 f.

115. *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, IV (1932-33), 260 f.

116. *Speculum*, XIII, 222 f. Cf. M. Wackernagel, *Die Plastik des XI und XII Jahrhunderts in Apulien*, Leipzig, 1911, p. 118.

117. P. Toesca, *Storia dell'arte italiana, medio evo*, I (Turin, 1927), 755, 761; *Art Bulletin*, XII (1930), 374.

the work of Wiligelmo and his associates at Modena belongs to the second half of the twelfth century.<sup>118</sup> The reason for this attitude on the part of French scholars is obvious. A flourishing school of sculpture in Lombardy early in the twelfth century would upset some sacred dogmas of French archaeology. An examination of the arguments of Mâle and Deschamps reveals nothing substantial.<sup>119</sup> When, therefore, Mr. Tatlock asserts his feeling in favor of a late date for the Arthurian archivolt, he is opposing his feeling to the great preponderance of expert opinion in the field of medieval art.

But expert testimony is not the final court of appeal; there are always the facts. And luckily there are some questions in art history which even the man without technical training can answer on the evidence of his eyes. This, I think, is one of them. Accordingly the reader will find here reproduced four Italian sculptures dated with something like certainty at intervals between 1095 and 1178, and beside them two details from the Modena archivolt. A comparison should suffice to show whether that relief belongs near 1100, where the majority of art experts would put it, or near 1180, where M. Faral would put it.

The first dated monument (Fig. A) is a sculpture from Pontida, near Bergamo. Porter dated it shortly after 1095 since it formed part of the tomb of San Alberto, who died in that year.<sup>120</sup> Certain features seem characteristic of this date in Italian sculpture: the crude modeling of the horse; the treatment of the tail as a switch of simple, slightly curved strands; the rider's collar with its opening at the neck; the rider's foot hanging down almost to the horse's hoofs. These, then, are features observable in work done in the last lustre of the eleventh century.

The next monument (Fig. B) is the episcopal throne in the church of San Niccola, Bari, dated by an inscription on it and by historic record in the year 1098.<sup>121</sup> Note, first, the heavy squat figures of the supporters; and, secondly, the indication of drapery folds on the middle supporter by simple incised lines. These also are features observable in sculpture of the end of the eleventh century.

Skipping some forty years, let us examine a famous relief of St. George over the main doorway of Ferrara cathedral, generally accepted

118. E. Mâle, *L'Art religieux du douzième siècle*, Paris, 1922, p. 269 n.; *Monuments et mémoires, Fondation Piot*, xxviii (1927), 69 ff.

119. *Nuovi Studi Medievali*, ii (1925-26), 105; *Speculum*, iii (1928), 26 f.; *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, per. 5, xviii (1928), 116 ff. The arguments of Lefebvre des Noettes and Prof. Leonardo Olschki, since they are not those of art experts, I do not consider here, but have refuted them in *Speculum*, xiii (1938), 224-228, and *Studi Medievali*, n. s., ix (1936), 1 ff.

120. Porter, *Lombard Architecture*, iii, 295 f.

121. A. K. Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, Boston, 1923, 1, 66; *Burlington Magazine*, xlvi, 63.

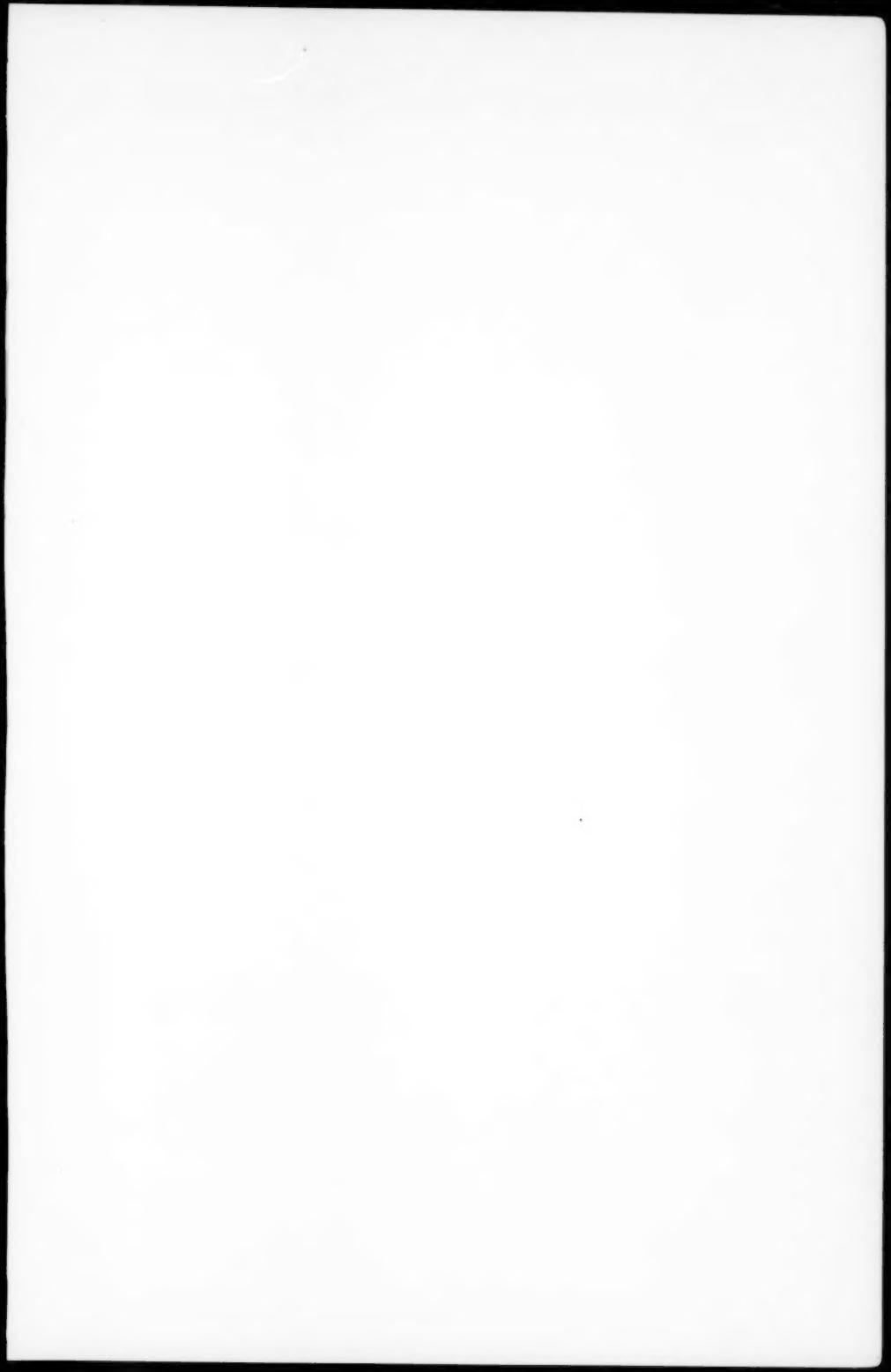




FIGURE A: Pontida, 1095-1100

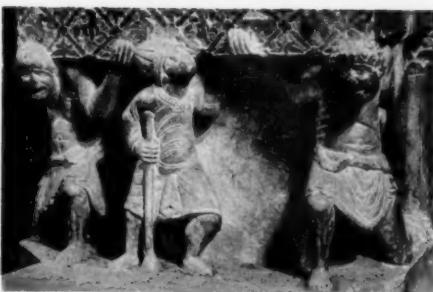


FIGURE B: Bari, 1098



FIGURE C: Modena



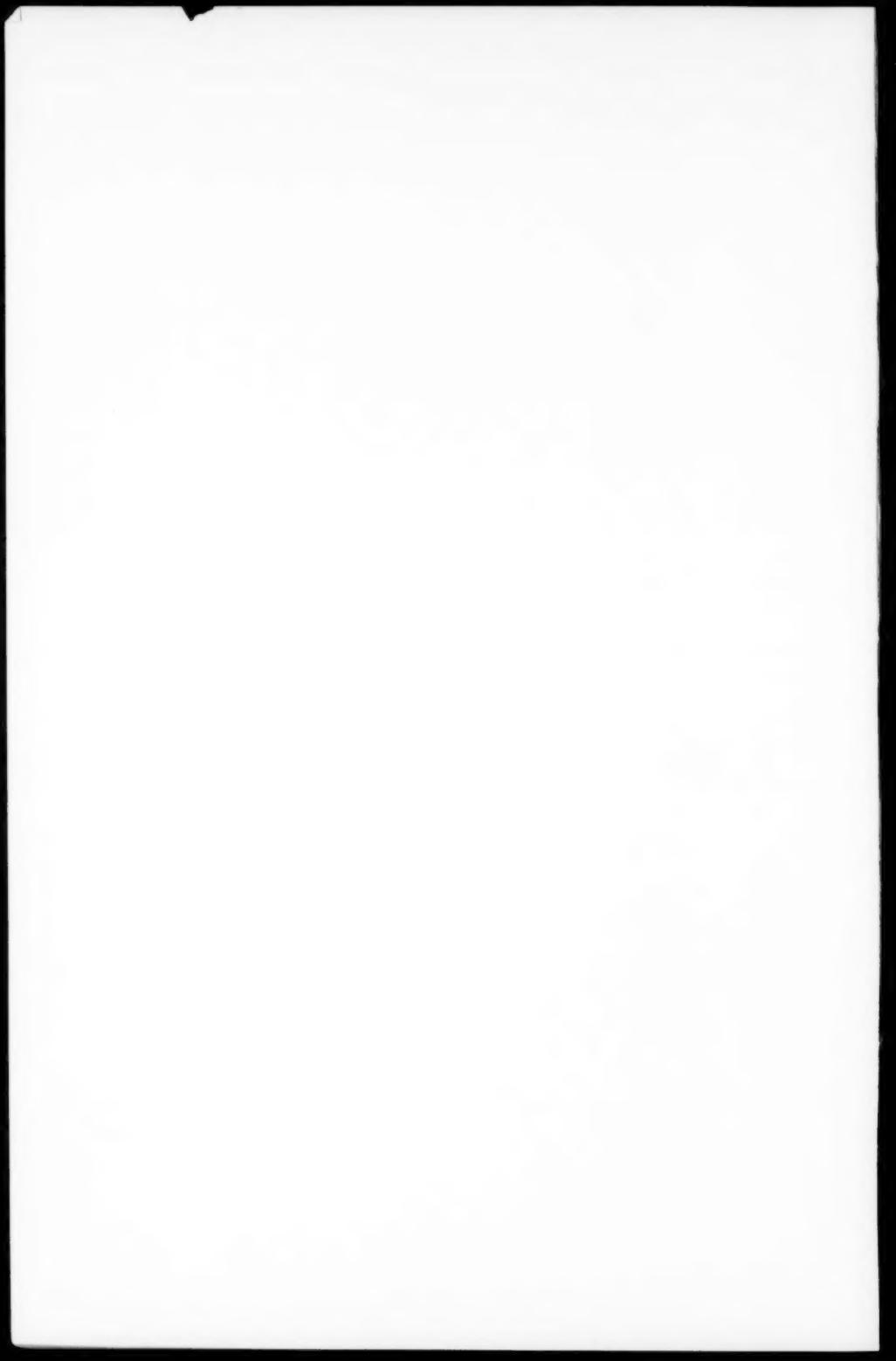
FIGURE D: Ferrara, 1135-41



FIGURE E: Parma, 1178



FIGURE F: Modena



by art experts as work done within a few years before or after 1135 (Fig. D).<sup>122</sup> Sculpture has evidently undergone a marked development since the Pontida horseman was carved forty years before. The modeling of the horse is more realistic, less wooden. The tail, instead of being a simple group of parallel strands, curls exuberantly; the rider's foot no longer dangles on a level with the fetlocks, but is where it should be; the folds of the rider's skirt and those of the figures below in the arcade are nowhere rendered by mere incised lines as on the Bari throne. The technique of 1135 is patently different from that of 1095-1100.

From the year 1178 we have another Lombard sculpture (Fig. E), which though it does not offer any analogy in subject with those we have examined, does give us another *point d'appui* and shows figures of draped women to compare with the figure of Winlogee on the Modena archivolt. This sculpture is the Deposition in the Tomb, by Benedetto Antelami at Parma. Its universally accepted date is 1178.<sup>123</sup> Here are no longer the squat figures of the Bari throne, but women of more normal and graceful proportions. The drapery displays a highly stylized, rhythmical treatment of the folds. Eighty years have evidently produced great changes in North Italian sculpture.

Now with this development in technique in mind, let us turn to some details of the Modena archivolt, and see whether they belong with the Pontida horseman of *ca.* 1095 and the Bari throne supporter of 1098; or with the Ferrara St. George of *ca.* 1135; or with the Parma Deposition of 1178. First, note in this mounted figure (Fig. C) the modeling of the horse, the carving of the tail, the position of the rider's foot. Do these belong with the sculpture of 1095 or that of 1135? Next, (Fig. F) in this detail of the fortress, note the collar of the man labeled Mardoc, the incised lines indicating folds,—features which have met us in the sculptures of 1095 and 1098. Note also the heavy huddled figure of the woman on the left and her draperies. Can they be contemporaneous with the women of the Deposition of 1178? As between the date 1099 to 1106, urged by Porter with the support of many facts, and the date of about 1180, which M. Faral proposed without the production, so far, of an atom of evidence, there can be little doubt which is closer to the truth. The *terminus ad quem* 1106 may be questioned; but it cannot be postponed very far.

The testimony of art historians, the evidence of the sculptural style, both overwhelmingly confirm the early dating. The argument from the

122. Porter, *Lombard Architecture*, II, 408, 421 f.; *Art Bulletin*, xii (1930), 394-398.

123. Porter, *Lombard Architecture*, III, 161.

proper names, *Galvaginus* and *Isdernus*, which I first put forward in 1927, I will not repeat.<sup>124</sup> I merely point out that these name-forms are closer to the Welsh than those employed by Geoffrey and the romancers who follow him, and that I have recently brought additional evidence to prove the derivation of *Galvaginus* from *Gwallt-Avwyn*.<sup>125</sup> Are we seriously asked to believe that a sculptor of the second half of the twelfth century in Lombardy was dissatisfied with what he was getting in the way of Celtic names from Geoffrey and Wace, and by dint of inquiry was able to ferret out something more archaic? This, so far as I can see, is the only explanation for the name-forms compatible with the belief that the Modena relief owes its existence to the vogue created by Geoffrey and Wace. It seems far more natural to explain these signs of archaism by the date of the sculpture.

The subject of the Modena archivolt has been acknowledged by Foerster and M. Mâle to show kinship with a certain episode in the *Prose Lancelot*,<sup>126</sup> and by Professors Cross and Nitze to be a form of the abduction of Guinevere.<sup>127</sup> It was evidently a highly composite story. The names *Winlogee* and *Artus* show that it was brought to Italy by a Breton speaking French, for *Winlogee* is patently a development of Breton *Winlowen*,<sup>128</sup> and *Artus* is a characteristic French development of Arthur.<sup>129</sup> That we should find a highly composite tale at this early date will surprise no one who has read *Kulhwch and Olwen* or has meditated on Professor Kittredge's dictum:

The fact that we can detect so much rationalizing in the French Arthurian material, and that too in very early texts,—in Chrétien for example,—shows that these texts come late in the history of the story which each tells. They stand, in a sense, at the end rather than at the beginning of a long course of development.<sup>130</sup>

That the story carved at Modena should be transmitted by Bretons speaking French will surprise no one who has examined the evidence

124. *Medieval Studies in Memory of Gertrude Schoepperle Loomis*, New York, 1927, p. 214; *Studi Medievali*, n. s., ix (1936), 1 ff.; *Speculum*, xiii (1938), 228. The *s* in *Isdernus* was probably silent since in the first half of the twelfth century the same woman appears in the records as *Gilla* and *Gisla*. Cf. *R*, xvii (1888), 362.

125. *PMLA*, liv (1939), 656 ff. Cf. *ibid.*, xlvi (1928), 384 ff. The form *Galvaginus* has probably been influenced by the name *Galginus*, recorded in Italy as early as 1032. Cf. *Documenti di Storia Italiana*, iv (Florence, 1870), 302.

126. *ZRP*, xxii (1898), 243 ff.; Mâle, *op. cit.*, p. 269.

127. T. P. Cross, W. A. Nitze, *Lancelot and Guenevere*, Chicago, 1930, p. 23.

128. *Medieval Studies in Memory of Gertrude Schoepperle Loomis*, p. 222.

129. *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1890, p. 832 n.

130. G. L. Kittredge, *Study of Gawain and the Green Knight*, Cambridge, Mass., 1916, p. 241.

for the Breton *conteurs* as intermediaries between Welsh and French Arthurian tradition. That it should be a variant of the abduction of Guinevere will surprise no one who has been convinced by Mr. Tatlock's dating of the *Vita Gildae*. That it should have found its way to the Lombard plain will surprise no one who has examined the evidence for Arthurian proper names in Northern Italy presently to be discussed. The Modena archivolt is not an anomalous or impossible freak; it is in perfect harmony with the rest of the facts.

11. THE NAMES ARTUSIUS AND WALWANUS RECORDED IN NORTHERN ITALY. In 1888 Rajna called attention to the fact that an Artusius appears in a document of 1114 as that of a brother of Ugo, count of Padua, and that another Artusius de Rovaro of the Trevisan march signs a document of 1122.<sup>131</sup> Both, as the circumstances indicate, must have been born and christened before 1092. I was the first to point out that another Artusius is recorded in 1125 as a benefactor of Modena cathedral.<sup>132</sup> The same name, with unimportant variations such as Artus or Arthusius, keeps cropping up throughout the twelfth century. In 1136 near Padua a certain long-lived Walwanus is recorded for the first time.<sup>133</sup> In 1139 he appears as Walquanus, in 1141 as Walwanus and Valvanus, in 1143 as Walwanus,<sup>134</sup> in 1145 or 1146 as Walwanus he is mentioned together with Count Ugo of Padua, brother of the now deceased Artusius.<sup>135</sup> In 1149 the name appears as Gualguagnus,<sup>136</sup> and finally we learn that in 1181 Dominus Walwanus had been dead over two years.<sup>137</sup> Rajna calculated that this Walwanus must have been christened in the first or second decade of the century.

Rajna concluded that these names proved the popularity of Arthur and Gawain in aristocratic circles before and right after the year 1100, and the fact that these names did not exist in Italy before such a popularity was conceivable strengthened his point. His thesis was accepted generally. Zimmer in 1890 quoted witnesses to the participation of Bretons in the eleventh-century Norman conquests in Italy, and commented on the name-forms:

Die sogenannte französische Lautform der Namen Artus (aus Arturs), Galvan (Walwan) in Italien beruht dann nicht darauf dass 'la Francia,' sondern

131. *R.* xvii (1888), 167, 356.

132. *Regesta Chartarum Italiæ*, xvi (1931), 295.

133. *R.* xvii (1888), 362; *Codice diplomatico padovano dall' anno 1101 alla pace di Costanza*, part 1, ed. A. Gloria, Venice, 1879, p. 236.

134. *Codice dipl. pad.*, etc., pp. 282, 294-296, 309.

135. *Ibid.*, p. 346.

136. *Ibid.*, p. 380.

137. *R.* xvii (1888), 363.

'il suo linguaggio' den Vermittler spielte; es ist die Lautform der französisch redenden Bretonen, die natürlich dieselbe war in Italien wie in Nordfrankreich und England.<sup>138</sup>

Unfortunately Rajna did not sufficiently emphasize the identity of these Latinized forms with unquestionable forms of the names of Arthur and Gawain. Artusius seems to have been the regular Italian Latinization of Arthur when the source was French. In an Italian *exemplum* we find Artusius de Britagna;<sup>139</sup> in a library catalog of the Visconti dated 1426 we read: "Liber unus in Gallico Regis Artusij;" "Liber unus in gallico tractans de morte Regis Artusij."<sup>140</sup> The form Walwanus of the 1136 document (as well as of four others) is exactly that habitually used in one of the best manuscripts of Geoffrey of Monmouth;<sup>141</sup> it differs by only a weakened vowel from the Walwen employed by William of Malmesbury in 1125.<sup>142</sup> A variant of the name, Galvanus, which appears in a Paduan document of 1144,<sup>143</sup> became the regularly established Latinization of Gawain in Italy,<sup>144</sup> just as Galvano became the most common vernacular form.

It is against Rajna's interpretation of these facts that Mr. Tatlock has delivered his most elaborate attack, and he has taken the trouble to give me his references in full. So far as I can see, however, he has not seriously damaged the position. His method is to assemble from Italian records earlier than 1100 names more or less resembling those of Artusius and Galvanus or Walwanus. If these appear before there is any likelihood that the *matière de Bretagne* could have reached Italy, then, he contends the significance of such names as evidence of the spread of the legend would be reduced.

What are the most striking examples brought forward by Mr. Tat-

138. *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1890, pp. 830-832, n. Cf. R., xvii (1888), 169: "Artusius e Artusus, accordandosi coll' Artus della tradizione francese."

139. Kittridge, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

140. G. d'Adda, *Indagini storiche, artistiche e bibliografiche sulla libreria Visconteo-Sforzesca del castello di Pavia*, parte prima, Milan, 1875, nos. 863, 916.

141. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia*, ed. Griscom, pp. 444, 474 f. This form has probably been influenced in France by the name Galans, Latinized as Walandus, which appears in the twelfth century and later as that of the traditional Germanic smith Wayland. Cf. P. Maurus, *Die Wielandsage in der Literatur* (*Münchener Beiträge zur Romanischen und Englischen Philologie*, xxv [1902], 32 ff.). It is the same Germanic name which appears along with others of the same origin in Lombardy as Walano or Walando as early as 999, and as Gualandus in 1122. Cf. A. Gloria, *Codice diplomatico padovano dal secolo sesto a tutto l'undecimo*, Venice, 1877, pp. 112, 297; *Codice diplomatico padovano dall'anno 1101 alla pace di Costanza*, part 1, pp. 50, 108. Prof. Dino Bigongiari kindly refers me to W. Bruckner, *Die Sprache der Langobarden*, Strassburg, 1895, p. 320, sub Guelantus.

142. Cf. *supra*, note 39.

143. Gloria, *Codice dipl. pad. dall'anno 1101 alla pace di Costanza*, p. 327.

144. Cf. *supra*, note 139.

lock? He cites an Artusinus from a document of 998.<sup>145</sup> Checking the reference, we find the document beginning: "Exemplum instrumenti, cuius tenor talis est," and ending: "Et ego Artusinus notarius exemplavi." In other words, Artusinus was simply the name of a notary who copied, *when we do not know*, a document of 998. It is not until the twelfth century that we find Artusinus as a recognized diminutive of Artusius.<sup>146</sup> There is nothing to give us pause here; nor is there in an alleged Artusinus of 1097. When we consult the text, we find that it cannot be an original document or a faithful copy but is full of gross blunders. We read: "promittimus at vobis Baroncellu & Artusinu germanus fratre tuus & at vestros eredis masculini . . . promittimus et obligamus at vobi Baroncellu et Arduinu & at vestri eredibus . . . at vobis Baroncellu & at Alcuini & at vestris eredis masculini."<sup>147</sup> From this dog-Latin we can conclude merely that the name of Baroncellu's brother in the original document of 1097 began with *A*, and ended in *-inus* and that a copyist in some later century made three guesses, one being Artusinus.

There is, therefore, no authentic record of an Artusinus until the grandson of the Artusius of 1114, who appears in a document of 1148 as "Artuso filius Manfredi," reappears in documents of 1162 as Artusinus or Arthusinus.<sup>148</sup> The latter forms, therefore, are certainly diminutives of Artus. It is interesting to note that the name was continued in the family, and that Manfred, who was both the son and the father of an Artus, was regarded as the richest man in the Trevisan march.

Though Mr. Tatlock was mistaken in adducing two Artusini before 1100, he has better authority for a "fundus Arturianus" near Rome recorded as early as 792 and another "fundus Arturianus" near Ravenna in 973.<sup>149</sup> These, however, had nothing to do with the hero of the French-speaking Bretons. Arturianus is simply an adjective derived from the common Roman name Artorius, with weakened vowel; and these *fundi Arturiani* were simply estates of some Artorius.

As for early occurrences of the name Walwanus or Galvanus, there is an alleged Galvanus in a charter of 1036,<sup>150</sup> who seems embarrassing until we look at the text. It is not the original but a seventeenth-century copy, which Gaddoni printed with the warning comment: "Zaccaria

145. G. B. Mittarelli, A. Costadoni, *Annales Camaldulenses*, 1 (Venice, 1755), Appendice, col. 147 f.

146. R, xvii (1888), 359 f.

147. Mittarelli, Costadoni, *op. cit.*, III, Appendice, col. 136.

148. Cf. *supra*, note 146.

149. *Regesta Chartarum Italiæ*, III, 6, 8, 325; *Regesta di Farfa*, II, 129; III, 2; V, 305.

150. S. Gaddoni, G. Zuccherini, *Chartularium Imolense*, Imola, 1912, II, 286.

hoc diploma transcripsit ex antiquo exemplari in archivio monasterii, amanensis inscrita, ut ait, depravato." Zaccaria called attention particularly to the corruption of proper names: Berardus for Gerardus, Quoradum for Gerardum, Chadalocus for Cadalous. The authority for the name Galvanus in 1036 could hardly be worse.

The name-forms which bear closest resemblance to those adduced by Rajna and which at first sight seem to prove that the names were known in Northern Italy well before any Breton *conteurs* could have introduced the Arthurian legend, turn out on inspection either to be direct derivatives of the Roman name Artorius (which Artusius and Artusinus cannot be), or to lack authentic record before 1100.

Mr. Tatlock is not content with producing names from early Italian records which closely resemble Rajna's forms, but he also cites a Gauginus of 874 and 882, and a Galginus of 1032,<sup>151</sup> decidedly remote from Walwanus, Walquanus, Gualguagnus, Galvanus. The argument seems to be that if a proper name comes into vogue shortly after the appearance of a possible literary or traditional source for that name, that literary or traditional source cannot or need not be the responsible cause if vaguely similar names had already been familiar. Let us see where this reasoning would lead us if applied to a later age and a later vogue. It is generally assumed that the name Oscar became popular in the British Isles and Scandinavia because the vogue of Macpherson's Ossian had introduced the reading public of Europe to Oscar, the son of Ossian. Here we have a close parallel to the appearance of Artusius and Walwanus as proper names in Northern Italy about the time that the Modena sculpture shows that Breton *conteurs* had ranged thus far afield. But according to Mr. Tatlock's implied argument the connection between the name Oscar and the Ossianic craze may be denied, since long before 1760 a name vaguely similar to Oscar had been known to the reading public of Europe. There was a name Osric, which recalls Oscar just as clearly as Galginus recalls Galvanus. It appears in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* as early as 634 and as late as 860. It occurs in such widely read works as Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* and Geoffrey of Monmouth's magnum opus, and turns up as that of a minor character in Shakespear's *Hamlet*. Only a sort of metathesis is necessary to explain the conversion of Osric into Oscar. Even more sensational is the fact that in Anglo-Saxon records of the tenth century, as one may see in Searle's *Onomasticon Anglo-saxonicum*, page 373, the name Osgar appears several times, and what could be nearer to Oscar? Thus we are

151. *Regesta Chartarum Italiae*, 1 (Rome, 1907), 3; *Documenti di Storia Italiana*, iv (Florence, 1870), 302.

led by Mr. Tatlock's logic to the conclusion that the Ossianic craze had nothing to do with the christening of many Oscars after 1760 because the names Osric and Osgar had appeared long before in English nomenclature. I am not caricaturing Mr. Tatlock's logic: I am merely applying it to Oscar. I think no Ossianist will accept it; neither, I hope, will many Arthurians.

The one consideration which might give us pause is the curious fact that these Italian boys were being named after Arthur and Gawain before any similar influence appears in French nomenclature, and it is agreed on all hands that the Bretons must have circulated in France and Norman England before they came down across the Alps. However improbable the priority of the Italians in this regard may seem, nevertheless it should be considered together with the fact that throughout the later medieval centuries the Italians showed a greater fondness for Arthurian names than any other European people. Bernabo Visconti, "god of delit and scourge of Lombardye," named his illegitimate children Palamede, Lionello, Ettore, Galeotto, Lancilotto, Sagromoro, Isotta, Ginevra.<sup>152</sup> Rajna adds to this list other names known in Italy: Princivalle, Galeazzo, Galvano, Brandeligi, Erecco, Dinadano, Ivano.<sup>153</sup> Some obscure psychological trait made the Italians more susceptible to the onomastic charms of the Round Table cycle than other peoples, and this is perhaps sufficient explanation for the fact that in Lombardy and the Trevisan march boys of noble birth were christened Artusius and Walwanus before or shortly after 1100.

It is significant that these are new names; that they begin to appear after the fascination of the Breton tales for the people of the Lombard plain had been recorded in stone at Modena cathedral; that they are attached to men of noble birth, whose fathers would have been most open to the appeal of chivalric story; and that the earliest Artusius and the earliest Walwanus moved in the same aristocratic circle of Padua. Unless there is some stronger objection to Rajna's interpretation of these facts than any yet offered, we cannot dissociate these names from the Artus de Bretania and Galvaginus, who are the most prominent of the knights carved at Modena; from the "Artur de quo Britonum nugae hodieque delirant," and his nephew Walwen, "miles virtute nominatisimus," who alone among the figures of the cycle are mentioned by William of Malmesbury in 1125; from the Artusius de Britagna and Galvanus, "nepos regis Artusii" of the late Italian exemplum.

THERE ARE, THEN, ELEVEN WITNESSES who speak to us in parchment or in stone and tell us that a cycle of romantic stories existed about

152. P. Litta, *Famiglie celebri di Italia*, Milan, 1819-83, 1, tav. vii.

153. R, xvii (1888), 181-184. Cf. *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana*, v (1885), 129 f.

Arthur and his knights before 1139. Granted that not all are of equal cogency; granted that the date of the *Couronnement Louis* is not fixed beyond peradventure earlier than the publication of Geoffrey's *Historia*, and the *Pèlerinage Charlemagne* may be later, while Ailred's reference is surely later by several years. Yet even the testimony of these three is hard to explain without the presupposition that Arthurian legends had already been in circulation for a few years, and the odds, in my opinion, favor the view that they refer to the same traditions that are certified for 1125 by William of Malmesbury, for 1113 by Herman of Laon, and for even earlier by the Modena sculpture and the proper names in northern Italy. All the conclusions arrived at on the basis of the first five witnesses are confirmed by the latter six. Everything in the history of Arthurian romance fits in with the view that legends, originating in Wales and Cornwall, were through the agency of professional reciters passed on to the bilingual Breton *conteurs*, who before the year 1100 had begun to fascinate audiences wherever French was understood. It was through them and the Welshman Bleheris, who had much the same repertoire, that the vogue of Arthurian romance was established as far as Lombardy well before 1139.

Mr. Tatlock is, of course, aware of most, if not all, of the evidence I have adduced, and yet he clings to an interpretation of the facts which at times seems strained, at times stands in flat contradiction to the best expert opinion, at times rests on a corrupt text or a far from cogent logical process. It is obvious that so rational, so cautious a scholar would not have denied the validity of all this evidence unless there were some reason. I think the clue is found in his phrase which I have already quoted, "the strong *a priori* probability" in favor of a late twelfth century date for the Modena relief. Naturally I was most curious as to what this presumption against an early Arthurian tradition could be, and I wrote asking what the basis was. Mr. Tatlock on August 25, 1939, replied to my query as follows: "It is partly of course answered in my article *Saints in Speculum*." Then followed the paragraph already quoted on p. 4, which consists of personal inferences and interpretations, not of any basic facts which might justify conclusions. The only direct answer to my question is found in the last sentence of the letter: "The paucity of anecdote in which he [Arthur] is the chief figure seems to me to support my opinion."

Mr. Tatlock then rests his position really on two points: the evidence of the saints' lives, and the paucity of incident in the romances in which Arthur is the chief actor.

Let us consider the bearing of the Welsh saints' lives on the question of a romantic cycle of tales before Geoffrey. It is, of course, true that except for the *Vita Gildae*, already discussed, and the *Vita Iltuti*, which may be later than Geoffrey's *Historia*,<sup>154</sup> Arthur appears in early Welsh hagiology as a lewd, blustering, somewhat ridiculous *tyrannus*, whose power is contrasted unfavorably with that of the saints. Do these hostile documents, then, give us representative, unbiased examples of Arthurian fiction before Geoffrey? The question almost answers itself. The attitude of the monastic clergy to the heroes of secular story throughout the Middle Ages was likely to be very different from that of the laity, though the militant Christianity of the Carolingian paladins made them acceptable to both parties. Ingeld, Arthur's contemporary, was the hero of a story of revenge, mentioned in *Widsith* and *Beowulf*. For the epic poet he was "glaed sunu Frodan," the gracious (or glorious) son of Froda.<sup>155</sup> But Alcuin, the monk, in a well-known passage demanded indignantly: "Quid Hinieldus cum Christo? Ille paganus perditus plangit in inferno."<sup>156</sup> Again, Theodoric the Goth became, as we all know, Dietrich von Bern, central figure of a legend familiar throughout Germany and Scandinavia. But the clergy, because he was an Arian heretic, represented him as the son of a devil, and on the façade of San Zeno at Verona he was carved galloping naked on a horse to his infernal doom. "Petit infera, non redditurus."<sup>157</sup> He also, like Ingeld, went to hell. Alexander the Great became the center of a chivalric cycle and one of the Nine Worthies. He was admired not only for his prowess but also for his unparalleled largess. As Professor Marian Whitney writes: "All through the Middle Ages we find Alexander cited as the standard of comparison for all others whose virtues are to be celebrated."<sup>158</sup> But what of the stricter clerical attitude? Moralistic works repeat St. Augustine's anecdote, which makes the great conqueror out to be nothing but a freebooter on a grand scale.<sup>159</sup> They select him as a supreme example of pride, a human Lucifer because he made claims to godhead and attempted to reach the skies in the first flying machine.<sup>160</sup> In the Middle English *Alphabet of Tales* Alexander is a chosen exemplar of

154. *Speculum*, xiv (1939), 353-356.

155. *Beowulf*, ed. F. Klæber, ed. 3, Boston, 1936, vs. 2025.

156. W. W. Lawrence, *Beowulf and Epic Tradition*, Cambridge, Mass., 1928, pp. 82, 326.

157. Porter, *Lombard Architecture*, III, 531 n. 74.

158. *Vassar Mediaeval Studies*, ed. C. F. Fiske, New Haven, 1923, p. 201 f.

159. John Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, Bk. III, vs. 2363 ff.; *Gesta Romanorum*, trans. C. F. Swin, tale 146; John of Salisbury, *Polycreticus*, ed. Webb, I, 224; Chaucer, *Works*, ed. F. N. Robinson (1933), p. 871 n.

160. *Burlington Magazine*, xxxii (1918), 177-185. Cf. Berthold von Regensburg, *Predigten*, ed. F. Pfeiffer, Vienna, 1862, I, 522.

*Ambitio* and *Superbia*.<sup>161</sup> Would it be possible to judge of the reputations of Ingeld, Theodoric, and Alexander from clerical testimony alone? That is what Mr. Tatlock seems to do when he maintains on the basis of the saints' lives that Arthur was an obscure and absurd figure among the Welsh before 1139, and hence an even more obscure and absurd figure anywhere else. Is not the argument patently fallacious?

There is the best of reasons for differentiating the verdict of lay minstrels from that of monkish historians and hagiographers; they were often at swords' points. In Wales we have no exception. Let me quote the sentiments of a gray friar expressed in a famous poem by Dafydd ap Gwilym: "There is nothing in the art of you minstrels but flattery, and useless sounds, and inciting men and women to sin and falsehood."<sup>162</sup> So much for the clerical view of the minstrels. Now for the minstrels' view of the monks.

*Monks congregate in a choir like dogs...*

*Monks congregate like wolves...*

*They know not when midnight and dawn divide,  
Nor what is the course of the wind nor who agitates it,  
In what place it dies away, on what land it roars.*<sup>163</sup>

Considering this poetic exchange of amenities, to expect the monkish writers of saints' lives to represent the darling of the *cyfarwyddon* and bards in a flattering light is to expect the German propaganda office to reflect the sentiments of Downing Street. What seems to be the main support for Mr. Tatlock's conviction that there were no romantic tales of Arthur before Geoffrey—despite all the evidence to the contrary—was simply the evidence of the saints' lives.

Mr. Tatlock's other confirmatory point is the paucity of anecdote regarding Arthur himself in the romances, as contrasted with the prominence of Gawain, Lancelot, Tristram, and the rest. In other words, Arthur and his court could not have figured in these stories at first; they came to be localized in Logres, at Camelot or Caerleon, and Arthur was introduced, in the course of transmission and development. So far I am in perfect agreement with Mr. Tatlock. It is absolutely certain, for instance, that the Beheading Test and Temptation episodes in the French romances and in *Gawain and the Green Knight* had originally nothing to do with Arthur's court.<sup>164</sup> We know who were originally the

161. E.E.T.S., O.S., vols. 126, 127 (1904-05), tales 49, 737.

162. Dafydd ap Gwilym, *Detholion o Gywyddau*, Bangor, 1921, p. 102. Reference kindly supplied by Prof. Kenneth Jackson.

163. W. F. Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, Edinburgh, 1868, 1, 266; T. Stephens, *Literature of the Cymry*, Llandovery, 1849, p. 194.

164. *PMLA*, XLVIII (1933), 1000 ff.

chief characters; they were warriors of Ulster, a monstrous giant from Munster, and a flower lady. It is undoubtedly true that the Round Table cycle has attracted to itself many stories, Celtic and otherwise, simply because of the fame of Arthur. But what, apparently, Mr. Tatlock takes for granted is that Geoffrey's *Historia* alone can account for that fame—an assumption which to my eyes seems a rather glaring example of *petitio principii*. For is not that precisely the point which is in question?

Neither the Welsh saints' lives nor the paucity of anecdotes which assign a chief role to Arthur in the Continental and English romances affords any secure basis for that *a priori* probability by which Mr. Tatlock justifies his belief that the traditions of Arthur were scanty, somewhat discreditable, and confined to Celtic territory until Geoffrey exalted him to the throne of Western Europe. The plain fact is, then, that ample evidence exists for a widespread, elaborate, fascinating legend of Arthur before the publication of the *Historia*, and that there is no antecedent probability against such a view.

The opposite view, that Geoffrey established the reputation of Arthur and thus made possible the astoundingly rapid development of Arthurian romance, involves very serious difficulties. With the exception of some minor and some dubious matters, the French romancers of the latter half of the twelfth century write as if they had never heard of Geoffrey or Wace.<sup>165</sup> As to the fact, Mr. Tatlock agrees: "So far as the romancers ignore Geoffrey of Monmouth, I should attribute it to his irrelevance for them. Their matter is totally different from his. But I think he helped give them an audience or vogue, though he didn't inspire them." And again, "Ignoring, hardly marked ignorance of, his work seems to me natural." It is agreed, then, that Geoffrey's pseudo-history and pseudo-prophecies are totally different from the romances in matter; the early romancers, generally speaking, "ignore Geoffrey."

This state of affairs, which seems to me perfectly natural on the assumption that the romancers exploited matter supplied by the pre-Galfridian Celtic tradition, seems to me most unnatural if there was no such tradition and if the one man who furnished the romancers with an audience and a vogue was Geoffrey of Monmouth. If it was the *Historia* which converted the western world to the eminence of the British battle-chief, and if it was knowledge of this fact which led the romancers to compose a whole cycle of tales about his knights of the Table Round, why should they not refer to Geoffrey or Wace as authority rather than to the *conteur* Bleheris? Was it sheer perversity which led them to refer

165. Thomas, *Tristan*, ed. Bédier, II, 101; J. D. Bruce, *Evolution of Arthurian Romance*, I, 37 n.

to Wace but once,<sup>166</sup> and to Bleheris, Breri, Blihis, Bliobleheris as an Arthurian authority or a superlative story-teller five times? Why do the figures of Merlin and Modred, so prominent in pseudo-history and so eminently adapted as wizard and villain to effective roles in romance, never appear in the pages of Chrétien or Marie? Mere caprice? Surely Mr. Tatlock cannot maintain that these two personages were not adapted to the purposes of romantic fiction.

Moreover, the nomenclature of the romances is hard to account for if their authors, especially those who were clerics, had been familiar with Geoffrey and Wace, and surely no one was more likely to be more familiar than they. Why is it that not one of them ever drew on that part of the long and convenient list of the notables at Arthur's coronation which Geoffrey faked from the Welsh genealogies,<sup>167</sup> or made any use of the non-Celtic names, Holdinus, Borellus, Guitardus, in the same list? Is it "natural" that, though they introduce Kai, Bedivere, Loth, whose names we have good reason to believe were a part of authentic Welsh tradition,<sup>168</sup> they scrupulously avoid those names which we know could not have been a part of authentic Welsh tradition? To explain this fact, we must attribute to Chrétien and his successors not only a perverse antipathy for borrowing names freely from Geoffrey or Wace, but also a knowledge of Geoffrey's sources and unscrupulous procedures which scholars have only achieved after seven hundred years.

On the other hand, when Chrétien chooses names for his heroes, he gives us Erec, derived immediately from Breton Guerec;<sup>169</sup> Lancelot derived from Welsh Llawynnawc or Llenlleawc by contamination with the French name Lancelin;<sup>170</sup> Ivain, son of Urien, derived from Welsh Owain, son of Urien, through Breton Ivan.<sup>171</sup> As for Perceval, it would be possible to assert, though far from easy to prove, that the name is Chrétien's private improvement on Geoffrey's Peredur, yet it is noteworthy that the one other hero of Chrétien's readily identifiable in the *Historia*, namely Ivain, cannot have derived his name from Geoffrey's Eventus, but from the Breton Ivan.<sup>172</sup> If the romancers exploited

166. Bruce, *op. cit.*, 1, 37 n.

167. R. H. Fletcher, *Arthurian Materials in the Chronicles*, p. 76 f.; Faral, *Légende arthurienne*, première partie, II, 76.

168. They appear in the *Black Book of Carmarthen* and in *Kulhwch and Olwen*. On the identity of Loth with Llwynh cf. *Revue Celtique*, xvi, 84 ff.; E. T. Griffiths, *Li Chantari di Lancelotto*, Oxford, 1924, p. 186; R, LIV (1928), 518.

169. R, xxv, 588. Loomis, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

170. R, LIV, 517.

171. H. Morice, *Mémoires pour servir de preuves à l'histoire de Bretagne*, Paris, 1742, I, cols. 457, 469.

172. MP, xxxiii (1936), 233 n. 36.

Arthur and his knights because Geoffrey had made their names glamorous, why did they reject so large a part of the onomasticon his book supplied, and discriminate on grounds which would have appealed only to a twentieth-century scholar?

Furthermore, how can one explain the access which the French romancers evidently had to non-Galfridian Welsh names? There are Meleagant and Maheloas, forms of Welsh Melwas, unknown to Geoffrey; Giflet fils Do, manifestly descended from Gilfaethwy son of Don; Caradoc Briebras; the boar Tortain, which we have noted already as the French counterpart of the Twrch Trwyth; the monster Capalu, which can be hardly anything else than the Cath Palug of the triads. One could extend the list indefinitely.<sup>173</sup> The romancers did not get these Welsh names from Geoffrey or Wace; how did they get them? Did they travel in Wales? Did they send emissaries to Wales? Did they import Welsh manuscripts, where the proper names are indistinguishable without a knowledge of the language from the rest of the text? Or did the initiative come from the Welsh? Were they impelled by the vogue of the *Historia* to attach tales which had previously had nothing to do with Arthur to the new hero? Was this promptly followed by translations of these Welsh tales on a grand scale for the benefit of the French *conteurs*? And did these *conteurs* hasten back to put their newly acquired stock of tales at the disposal of literary men like Chrétien and Andreas Capellanus? And where do the Bretons come in? And why is it that if Yorkshire about 1140 saw a flourishing crop of Arthurian tales, quite independent of any Welsh or Breton influence, inspired solely by Walter Espec's copy of the *Historia*, we have no traces of it? Here are questions on which no upholder of Geoffrey's responsibility for Arthurian romance has thus far shed a ray of light. In vain will one search the publications of Sir Edmund Chambers, M. Faral, Professors Gerould and Tatlock for any solution to these difficulties.

Until some concrete, plausible hypothesis to account for the phenomena is put forward by the advocates of Geoffrey as the effective cause of Arthurian romance, we may reject the whole scheme of interpretation. It does not fit the facts as does the theory of Welsh traditional development and Breton transmission to the Continent before the year 1100. It involves clear examples of the fallacy of *post hoc ergo propter hoc* and of *petitio principii*. It involves the assumption that the saints' lives are reliable indices of Arthur's status among the laity. After all,

173. *Ibid.*, p. 230; R, LXXII (1937), 383 ff.; H. Newstead, *Bran the Blessed in Arthurian Romance*, New York, 1939; *MLN*, XLII (1928), 215 ff.

Gaston Paris, Rajna, Bédier, Porter, Zimmer, Foerster, and Miss Weston, not to mention any number of living scholars, were agreed on one thing, however they may have disagreed on others: they recognized the existence of a flourishing Arthurian fiction before Geoffrey of Monmouth. Once this is granted, it is easily demonstrable that this body of fiction furnished far more matter to the *matière de Bretagne* than ever did the *Historia Regum Britanniae*, the *Vita Merlini*, and the *Brut* put together.

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## A VILLON VARIANT

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THE ESTABLISHMENT of the text of Villon's work is constantly subject to revision, or, at least, to the addition of variants or of interpretations. I offer herewith a new variant of the *Epitaphe Villon*, the famous *Ballade des Pendus*. It is contained in a manuscript which has been used for two other ballades attributed to Villon, one of which, the *Ballade contre les ennemis de la France*, appears in all the editions since that of Longnon (1892). This manuscript is *Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds français 24315*, a collection of pieces of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, containing, besides many anonymous works, pieces by such authors as Guillaume Alexis, Cretin, Molinet, Pierre Fabri, Georges Chastellain, and others less noted. In the *Catalogue général des manuscrits de la B. N.*<sup>1</sup> this manuscript is described as of the sixteenth century, and the final piece is indicated as "Lettres de dons et de confirmation de plusieurs rentes à l'abbaye de Montebourg, par différents membres de la famille Malet de Graville. Copie collationnée executée en 1561." This, then, shows that the manuscript is rather late, but in view of the numerous variants, many of them minor but several less so, it seems none the less worthy of note.

It is almost impossible to determine any parentage for this version of the *Epitaphe Villon*, for the scribe seems to have been quite impartial in his variations from other sources. There are variants which may be explained on the basis of scribal error, but there are others which cannot be so dismissed. Some of the readings seem decadent, at least one is archaic, and the general orthography is not always in conformity with the usual practice of the time.

The *Catalogue* indicates the existence of this ballade as on folio 67<sup>vo</sup>, but this is apparently either a mistake or a very vague indication. The notation for folio 67<sup>vo</sup> reads "Ballade de 'maistre Francoys Willon,' quatrain, rondeau et ballades anonymes," and the next indication given is for folio 71<sup>vo</sup>. To be sure, the ballad is found between these two folios, but it is actually on folio 69<sup>ro</sup>, and it may be this vagueness which has contributed to the failure of this version to be more specifically pointed out. One of the "ballades anonymes" has been attributed to Villon by Louis Karl,<sup>2</sup> but of this attribution, Champion says, "mais

1. XIII, 314-317.

2. Louis Karl, "Une Ballade morale de François Villon," *Moyen Age*, 2<sup>e</sup> série, xxvii, 214-231. This is but one of the versions of the ballad of which the refrain is:

du Villon, cela, jamais!"<sup>3</sup> Curiously enough, this moral ballade immediately follows the one here published, and begins on folio 69<sup>vo</sup>, with all but the first eleven lines of Villon's *Epitaphe* on the same page.

More than a century prior to the publication of the *Catalogue* in 1897-1902, this manuscript had been described in the prospectus for the sale of the La Valière library in 1783.<sup>4</sup> Here, in the catalogue proper, the manuscript was described as a

recueil de poésies composées par Jean Trotier, Molinet, Pierre Fabri, Cretin, Castel, Jehan Braconier de Bordeaux, Guillaume Tasserie, et autres auteurs anonymes.<sup>5</sup>

There is no mention made of Villon in spite of the fact that the manuscript gives, at the head of the ballad, "Maistre Françoys Willon." The *Supplément*, however, gives a complete table of contents with *incipits* or, in the case of ballads, with refrains. Thus, for the piece in question, under number 21, is found

Maistre francoys villon (ballade de 3 str. de 10 vers. envoi de 5.)

*Mais priez dieu que tous nous vueille assoudre.*<sup>6</sup>

Another mention of this manuscript has been made fairly recently by Noël Dupire in his study of the manuscripts and editions of Jean Molinet.<sup>7</sup> However, all that is said of the contents of *MS fr. 2431* other than works of Molinet is

Ce ms. contient aussi des pièces de François Villon, Georges Chastellain, Jehan Trotier, Pierre Fabri, Guillaume Alecis, Jehan Castel, Guillaume Crétin, Guillaume Tasserie, quelques épitaphes et pièces anonymes.

There is nothing here to indicate the existence of this particular poem, for, it must be remembered, the manuscript contains also the above-mentioned moral ballade (folio 69<sup>vo</sup>) and the *Ballade contre les ennemis de la France* (folio 111).

*Et si n'amende point ma vie.*

This is the second of the above-mentioned attributions.

3. Pierre Champion, *François Villon: Sa Vie et son temps*, deuxième édition, Paris, Champion, 1933, I, xvii.

4. *Catalogue des livres de la bibliothèque de feu M. le duc de la Vallière, première partie, contenant les manuscrits, les premières éditions, les livres imprimés sur vélin & sur grand papier, les livres rares & précieux par leur belle conservation, les livres d'estampes &c dont la vente se fera dans les premiers jours du mois de décembre 1783.* Par Guillaume de Bure, fils ainé. Tome second. A Paris, chez Guillaume de Bure, fils ainé, libraire, quai des Augustins. MDCCCLXXXIII. P. 307, no. 2926. Cf. also the *Supplément* to this volume, p. 35 ff. (the MS is wrongly referred to as 2976).

5. *Ibid.*, II, 307.

6. *Supplément*, p. 37.

7. Noël Dupire, *Étude critique des manuscrits et éditions des poésies de Jean Molinet*, Paris, Droz, 1932, p. 71.

As for the actual source of the text itself, little can be said with certainty. As indicated above, it differs considerably from other manuscript versions. Whether it was transcribed from memory, from some unknown manuscript, or from one of the early editions cannot at present be definitely determined. All of these must be considered as possibilities.

In the following transcription, the cases of variation from all other versions are in roman. It was not considered necessary or important to indicate variations from one or two versions when there is similarity with others. The punctuation follows that of the Thuasne edition,<sup>8</sup> except for line 8 where the grammatical structure is changed completely. Following the text, I offer a few remarks; the sigla *T.* and *F.* refer to the editions of Thuasne and of Longnon as revised by Foulet.<sup>9</sup>

MAISTRE FRANÇOYS WILLON

f. 69<sup>ro</sup>

1      *Freres humains qui aprez nous vivez,*  
 2      *N'aiez les cueurs contre nous endurcis,*  
 3      *Car, se pitie de nous povres avez,*  
 4      *Dieu en aura plutot de vous mercis.*  
 5      *Vous nous voiez cy atachez cinq, six:*  
 6      *Quand de la char, que trop avons nourrie,*  
 7      *Elle est piescha devoree et pourrie,*  
 8      *Et sont les os devenuz cendre et pouldre.*  
 9      *De nostre mal personne ne se rie;*  
 10     *Mais priez Dieu que tous nous vueille assouldre!*

11     *Se freres vous clamons, pas n'en debvez*      f. 69<sup>vo</sup>  
 12     *Avoir desdaing, quoy que fumes occis*  
 13     *Par justice. Toutesfoys, vous sçavez*  
 14     *Que tous les hommes n'ont pas bon sens rassis;*  
 15     *Excusez nous, puis que sommes transys,*  
 16     *Envers le filz de la Vierge Marie,*  
 17     *Que sa gracie par nous ne soit tarie,*  
 18     *Nous preservant de l'infernelle foudre.*  
 19     *Nous sommes mors, ame ne nous arie;*  
 20     *Mais priez Dieu que tous nous vueille assouldre!*  
  
 21     *La pluie nous a esbuez et lavez,*  
 22     *Et le soleil dessechez et noiris;*  
 23     *Pies, corbeaulx, nous ont les oeilz crevez,*  
 24     *Et arrachez les barbes (—), les sourcis.*  
 25     *Jamais nul jour nous ne sommes assis;*

8. François Villon, *Œuvres*, éd. L. Thuasne, Paris, Picard, 1923, I, 290-292.

9. François Villon, *Œuvres*, éd. A. Longnon, 4<sup>e</sup> éd., Paris, Champion, 1932, pp. 96, 134.

26      *Puis ça, puis là, comment le vent varie,*  
 27      *A son plaisir sans cesser nous charie,*  
 28      *Plus bequetez d'oiseaulx que delz à couldre*  
 29      *Ne soiez donc de nostre confrarie;*  
 30      *Mais priez Dieu &c.*

31      *Prince Jesus, qui sur tous seigneurie,*  
 32      *Garde que Enfer sur nous n'ait seigneurie:*  
 33      *Que a luy n'aions que faire ne que souldre.*  
 34      *Hommes, icy point n'a de moquerie;*  
 35      *Mais priez Dieu &c.*

## REMARKS

*Title:* The title as given here differs completely from that of any other version. It usually appears as *L'Epitaphe Villon*, with or without some following explanatory phrase.

*Line 4:* *plustost*, written as one word—not uncommon.

*Line 5:* In the manuscript, the letter of *atachez* here transcribed as *h* greatly resembles the symbol of the International Phonetic Alphabet for the *son chuintant*. Elsewhere, the combination *ch* is written in the ordinary fashion. One constant orthographic peculiarity of this MS is the combination *-che-* for *-chie-*. Cf. vss. 5, 22, 24.

*Line 7:* *piescha*, picardism or colloquialism?

*Line 8:* This is one of the most noteworthy variants. The grammatical construction has been completely changed. Cf. in *T.* and *F.*:

*Et nous, les os, devenons. . . .*

*Line 11:* *devez*, note the presence of the *b*.

*Line 12:* *fumes*, the etymological form rather than the analogical form *fusmes* found in all the other MS versions. The Pierre Levet edition of 1489 uses the etymological form.

*Line 14:* This line is technically false, in that it contains 11 syllables. It becomes correct and agrees with all other versions if we omit the spurious *les*.

*Line 17:* The chief variant here is one of order. *T.* and *F.*:

*. . . ne soit pour nous. . . .*

Only the version of the *Jardin de Plaisance* (ed. SATF, fol. 108<sup>ro</sup>) has *par*, but even there the order is that of *T.* and *F.*

*Line 18:* *fourdre*, this is the only one of the five words involved in this rhyme to show this assimilation.

*Line 19:* *arie*, note lack of initial *h*.

*Line 21:* *esbuez*. Other forms: *a buez, debuez, bien buez, a et buez*. (For the full lines, cf. *T.*, 1, 291 and *F.*, p. 134.) This reading may be simply a corruption of *a et buez. . . .* The MS is perfectly clear, and there is no question as to the reading.

Line 22: *dessechez*, cf. remark on vs. 5, *supra*. *Noirsis*, definitely an *s*, not a *c*.

Line 23: Note the form of *oeilz*. While this is uncommon at so late a date, the form is still found, as in Rabelais, *Pantagruel*, iv., 14. To be sure, in modern French, the plural of *oeil-de-boeuf* is *oeils-de-boeuf*; *i.e.* in compounds, the plural of *oeil-* is formed by the addition of *-s*. Note also *crevez* for *cavez* of the other versions.

Line 24: *arrachez*. This form is apparently a grammatical error, by analogy with *crevez*. For the form, cf. remark on vs. 5. The other versions have *la barbe et*, the omission of *et* indicated here by the (—).

Line 25: *jour* for *temps* of the other versions. This seems to me to be an improvement.

Line 26: *comment* for *comme* of the other versions.

Line 28: *bequetez* lacks the usual *c* as does also *moquerie* in vs. 34. Note also the spelling of *delz*.

Lines 31-32: There is a curious corruption in these two lines.

- T. *Prince Jhesus, qui sur tous seigneurie,*  
*Garde qu'Enfer n'ait de nous la maistrie. . . .*
- F. *Prince Jhesus, qui sur tous a maistrie,*  
*Garde qu'Enfer n'ait de nous seigneurie. . . .*

The Coislin MS makes the same error as does *MS fr. 24315*, and Foulet says of it (page 134), “*C qui répète le mot seigneurie ayant visiblement commis une erreur, son témoignage ne peut être invoqué ni dans un sens ni dans l'autre.*” I refer the reader also to the rather lengthy discussion of the question of the verb form, and of the meanings of *seigneurie* and *maistrie* in Thuasne, III, 602-603 (where the indication should read *vss. 31-32* instead of *vss. 32-33*). Note also that the *-e* of *que* in lines 32 and 33 is written out, although the elision is made in the scansion.

Line 34: The variant here is a transposition which seems to give the line somewhat more force: *point n'a* for *n'a point*.

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THE DISHONOR OF HONOR  
FROM GIOVANNI MAURO TO  
SIR JOHN FALSTAFF

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THIS IS A JAUNT to picturesque sources although less relevant than the fountain-heads of the Nile.

The contrast between the freedom and pleasure of instinct on the one side and the repression exerted by ethical or legal order on the other is a literary motif as old as man himself. It would be commonplace to describe its delectable meanders from antiquity to the Middle and modern ages and to contemplate again turning points, from ancient sensuality to modern passion, as popular as Goliardic poetry and Florentine pageantry. Few, if any in the Italian High-Renaissance had forgotten "Gaudeamus Igitur" and practically everybody knew by heart the flaming hymn of Lorenzo Il Magnifico to the freedom of love and youth.

It seems, however, that it remained for a rather obscure poet or versifier of the grotesque style inaugurated by Francesco Berni to identify, and unify in terms of the concept of honor, all the distasteful authorities that blocked the path of man to happiness. This secondary poet was Giovanni Mauro, born about 1490 in Friuli, the North-East tip of Italy. He spent most of his life in Rome, where he was in the service of the Duke of Amalfi, of Cardinal Grimani, of the *datario* Giberti, and of Cardinal Cesarin, and where he died in 1536. His reputation is or was entrusted to a volume of 21 *Capitoli faceti* which was published in Rome the year after his death.<sup>1</sup>

The genus—so desperately comic that it impresses us with a nearly tragic boredom—is well known to specialists. Berni, its originator, wrote *capitoli* in praise of peaches, of eels, of jelly, of debts, and of the needle—and even in praise of Aristotle. Mauro, his first and most highly praised follower whom a few *aficionados* for a certain time could deem to be equal to the master, wrote *capitoli* in terza rima as Berni had done, in praise of such things as lies, or famine, or even the warmth of the bed. Towards the warmth of the bed he had a particular inclination as is disclosed by the *capitolo* which attracts our attention, in *In dishonor dell' honore* where laziness again receives its due.

1. In later years they were usually printed as an appendix to Berni's jocular rimes and in such a satellite sequence are they reprinted in the edition which I have used: *Delle rime piacevoli del Berni, Mauro, Casa, Varchi, Dolce, et d'altri autori*, Vol. I., Vicenza 1603, per Barezzo Barezzi Libraro in Venetia.

*E dicon, che'l morir di lancia è bello  
 O di colpo di stocco, o d'archibugio  
 Come Fabrizio, Cesare, e Marcello.  
 E c'haver ne la schiena un gran pertugio  
 O ne la pancia d'una colobrina  
 Ti fa gir a le stelle senza indugio.  
 Oh quanto mi par cosa pellegrina  
 Star riposatamente in quel mio letto,  
 E giacer da la sera a la mattina.<sup>2</sup>*

He would be glad to lie comfortably in his bed from evening to morning and perhaps also at other occasional hours, and for military glory he has no use. The traditional idealization of Roman virtue is merely a cause for disgust to him and all the fun of the composition is in the brazen defeatism of the avowed poltroon behind whom the reader has a glimpse of popular masks like Pulcinella, whose worldwide celebrity was still to come. What prevents a sensible man from being sensible is according to Mauro the phantom of honor. He dedicates his rimed chat to the Prior of Iesi in the Marche and the reverend recipient is addressed as follows:

*Voi avete, Prior, dunque a sapere  
 Che s'io fossi ricco, o gran Signore  
 Molte gran cose io vi farei vedere.  
 E prima cacciarei del mondo fuore  
 Quella cosa da noi tanto pregiata,  
 Quel nome vano, che si chiama Honore.  
 Cacciarei de la testa a la brigata  
 Questo si lungo error, questa pazzia  
 Ne i cervelli de gli huomeni invecchiata.  
 Laqual ci toglie ciò, che si desia,  
 Tutti i piaceri, e tutti li diletti,  
 Che per nostro uso la Natura cria.  
 E de li suoi maravigliosi effetti  
 Il dolcissimo gusto ne fa amaro  
 E tutti i maggior ben torna imperfetti.<sup>3</sup>*

All the rest is in the same style:

*Dura legge me par, che in ogni cosa,  
 Che vi possa piacer l'Honor si metta,  
 Come l'Hortica, e'l spin presso la rosa.<sup>4</sup>*

2. *Ibid.*, p. 79.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 78v.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 79v.

*Ovunque per il mondo il più ti mena  
 Questo importuno Honor ti è sempre al fianco  
 Teco se'n vien al letto, a pranzo e a cena.  
 E mai di seguitarti non è stanco,  
 Anzi par, che'l tuo passo ogn'hor avanzi*

Mauro indeed had so much to say on this topic that one *capitolo* did not seem enough to him. A second *Capitolo del dishonore*, dedicated again to the prior of Iesi, expatiates on analogous concepts and witticisms. The most insistent assumption is that liberty was stolen from mortals through the misdeeds of honor. As long as this false deity had not appeared, property was communal, everybody was safe from iron and no soul knew worry. Equality and peace were the lot of mankind and "chestnuts, lupines and acorns were not sold with weight and measure." What is most intolerable for the poet is that there is nothing to it, that honor is an empty name. It is, he tries to explain, a kind of fever that accompanies all kinds of diseases. More vehemently in the first *capitolo* he had averred:

*Hor vi dich'io che le son tutte fole,  
 Tutti argomenti da ingannar gli sciocchi  
 Le cose, che consistono in parole.  
 Datemi cosa, che con man si tocchi,  
 E se con mano non si può toccare,  
 Che si possa veder almen con gli occhi.  
 Quest' Honor invisibile mi pare,  
 Et intoccabil come febre, e gotta,  
 Che ti strugge la vita, e non appare.  
 Di tal robba, nè cruda, nè cotta,  
 Non si vende in mercato, e pur le genti  
 Dietro le vengon come storni in frotta.<sup>6</sup>*

There was a felicitous or anyhow lucky line in the doggerel, "le cose che consistono in parole," things that are mere words. Of course it already had a long history, as does anything else in the succession of motifs and idioms. Petrarch almost two centuries earlier, modifying other illustrious antecedents, had written: "Non far idolo un nome vano senza soggetto,"<sup>7</sup> meaning that it was nominalism of the most arbitrary sort to give a content to the fame of German military valor. He incited

5. *Ibid.*, p. 80r.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 80.

7. Petrarch, *Il Canzoniere*, cxxviii: "Italia mia."

the Italians to become aware of the emptiness of this idol and to fight and conquer for their country and their Roman Empire. The literary idiom, further modified, is used by the imitator of Berni for the opposite purpose: to teach the Italians or at least his handful of readers that it is much better to lie down and to scoff at the incitements of honor. One guesses behind this mood the gloomy inspiration of a decaying society which had already experienced or was going to experience disasters like the sack of Rome, and the downfall of Florentine liberty, the wholesale catastrophe of the glory that had been the Italian Renaissance. One also guesses a bitter and impotent objection to the ethical system of the conquering Spaniards whose ideal of behavior pivoted around the concept of honor. These political circumstances may account for the adoption of the word honor, especially in its military implications, as a symbol for all that hampers natural happiness.

The young Torquato Tasso certainly read the *capitoli* of Mauro. If he read them he liked them. All his poetic genius was caught in the conflict between rebellion and repression, between adventurous dalliance and devotion—partly voluntary and partly compulsory—to the strictness, religious, ethical and political, of the Counter-Reformation. From time to time his rebellious residues find a vent. They express or discharge themselves in lyrical protests. The most interesting passages are the octaves in the *Gerusalemme liberata*, xiv, 62f., and the chorus in *Aminta* at the end of the first act. *Aminta* is of 1573. The *Gerusalemme liberata* was finished two years later. A long interval, at least 40 years, had elapsed since Mauro's days. We read in the epic:

62.—*O giovanetti mentre aprile e maggio  
V'ammantan di fiorite e verdi spoglie  
Di gloria e di virtù fallace raggio  
La tenerella mente ah non v'invoglia!  
Solo chi segue ciò che piace è saggio,  
E in sua stagion degli anni il frutto coglie.  
Questo grida natura. Or dunque voi  
Indurarete l'alma a i detti suoi?*

63. *Folli, perché gettate il caro dono,  
Che breve è st, di vostra età novella?  
Nonne, e senza soggetto idoli sono  
Ciò che pregio e valore il mondo appella.  
La fama che invaghisce a un dolce suono  
Voi superbi mortali, e par st bella,  
È un'eco, un sogno, anzi del sogno un' ombra  
Ch'ad ogni vento si dilegua e sgombra.*

64. . . . .  
*Questo è saver, questa è felice vita:  
 Sì l'insegna natura, e sì l'addita.*

It is the well-known song of the siren, the usual contrast of virtue and glory with pleasure and nature. Nothing is new except perhaps a more intense vibration of melancholy than with most poets who have tried to stand for the stern deities against laxity. But the chorus in *Aminta* is far more noteworthy. There the whimsicality of Mauro is heightened to a powerful lyrical accent, as harmonious in expression as it is tumultuous in inspiration, and honor, Mauro's honor, is definitely the villain. The golden age, says Tasso, was so happy not because there was neither worry nor toil, it was so happy, not because Spring was eternal and man did not know danger or greed:

*Ma sol perchè quel vano  
 Nome senza soggetto,  
 Quell' idolo d'errori, idol d'inganno,  
 Quel che da'l volgo insano  
 Onor poscia fu detto,  
 Che di nostra natura il feo tiranno,  
 Non mischiava il suo affanno  
 Fra le liete dolcezze  
 De l'amoroso gregge;  
 Nè fu sua dura legge  
 Nota a quell'alme in libertate avvezze;  
 Ma legge aurea e felice  
 Che Natura scolpì: S'ei piace, ei lice.*

Nor is the honor which Tasso so eloquently curses especially a military honor. Its references are chiefly to sex.<sup>8</sup> What is proclaimed in the chorus is the sanctity, so to speak, of free love:

*Opra è tua sola, o Onore,  
 Che furto sia quel che fu don d'Amore.*

Hence the banishment of honor from the world of shepherds and shepherdesses, *i.e.* from the world of poets and their belles. Let it be allowed to make havoc of rulers and of the mighty of the earth; its place, however, is not where the heart must reign.

The fame of *Aminta* swept all literary Europe soon after its first triumph in the miniature Parnassus of Ferrara. Elizabethan England an-

8. Mauro himself, however, had by no means neglected the attractive sexual implications of the "dishonor of honor":

*Perchè non nacqui anch'io quando ogni bella  
 Come la fe' natura ignuda andava.*

nected the Italian Pastoral in more than one way. One was the translation or paraphrase by Abraham Fraunce. With the material that he had borrowed from a Latin Amyntas by Thomas Watson<sup>9</sup>—which, however, had nothing in common with Tasso's *Aminta*—and with what he took from the latter, he made a compound which was published in 1591 under the title:

The Countesse of Pembroke's Yuychurch. Containing the affectionate life and unfortunate death of Phillis and Amyntas: That in a Pastorall—This in a Funerall, both in English Hexameters.

There we meet for the first time Tasso's poem in an English dress, however poorly tailored.

... sweete age of gold, for that this name of a noething,  
 Idle name of nought, and dayly deceavable Idoll,  
 Which fooles afterward, fine-fooles have made to be Honnor,  
 Was not nam'd, nor knowne, nor brought new lawes to the countrey  
 And poore countreymen, whose lives were onely directed  
 By sweete Natures law, sweete Nature taught them a lesson,  
 If you will, you may: and strait-lac't rules did abandon.

Honnor cal'd it a theft, which first was counted a free guift,  
 Honnor made it a cryme, which first was thought but a pastyme.

One year later, in 1592, Samuel Daniel published his *Delia*, the last poem in the collection being a *Pastorall*, and the pastoral being the exact, and this time also quite adequate, translation of Tasso's chorus.

O Happy golden Age,  
 Not for that Rivers ranne  
 With streames of milke, and hunny dropt from trees

But onely for that name,  
 That Idle name of wind:  
 That Idoll of deceit, that empty sound  
 Call'd HONOR, which became  
 The tyran of the minde:  
 And so torments our Nature without ground,  
 Was not yet vainly found:  
 Nor yet sad grieves imparts  
 Amidst the sweet delights  
 Of joyfull amorous wights.

9. Thomas Watson published in 1585 a pastoral in Latin hexameters entitled: "Amyntas Thomae Watsoni Londonensis J. V. studiosi. Nemini datur amare simul et sapere. Excudebat Henricus Marsh, ex assignatione Thomae Marsh 1585."

*Nor were his hard lawes knowne to free-borne hearts.  
But golden lawes like these  
Which nature wrote.* That's lawfull which doth please.<sup>10</sup>  
*O Honour it is thou  
That mak'st that stealth, which love doth free allow*<sup>11</sup>

There is no doubt that Samuel Daniel was widely read by his contemporaries, both as historian and poet. Henrietta C. Bartlett has pointed to the influence of Daniel's sonnets to Delia on Shakespeare's sonnets and to the similarities of Shakespearean lines, especially in *Twelfth Night*, to Daniel's verse. Traces of Daniel's *Rosamund* and the *Sonnets to Delia* are found in the *Rape of Lucrece*, *A Lovers Complaint*, and in *Romeo and Juliet*.<sup>12</sup> F. W. Moorman too, in an article on "Shakespeare's History-Plays and Daniel's *Civile Wars*"<sup>13</sup> insists on such parallelisms and besides he stresses striking points of affinity to the third book of Daniel's *Civile Wars* in the First Part of *King Henry the Fourth*. It is not only, however, for the epic grandeur of the history of *Henry IV* that Shakespeare is indebted to Daniel. While Daniel as an historian provided information for the dramatic epic, the same author as a poet or reversifier of Tasso contributed decisive elements to the colossal grotesque of Falstaff's character that counterbalances in perilous yet triumphal proportions the sternness of the main plot.

In *Henry IV*, Part I, act v, scene 1, Sir John summarizes his ethical system. "Why," says the Prince to him, "thou owest God a death." (Exit) Then Falstaff mutters his fundamental soliloquy:

'Tis not due yet: I would be loath to pay him before his day. What need I be so forward with him that calls not on me? Well 'tis no matter; honour pricks me on. Yea, but how if honour prick me off when I come on? how then? Can honour set to a leg? No. Or an arm? No. Or take away the grief of a wound? No. Honour hath no skill in surgery then? No. What is honour? a word. What is that word honour? Air. A trim reckoning. Who hath it? he that died o'Wednesday. Doth he feel it? No. Doth he hear it? No. It is insensible, then? Yea, to the dead. But will it not live with the living? No. Why? Detraction will not suffer it. Therefore I'll none of it: honour is a mere scutcheon: and so ends my catechism.

According to general opinion, endorsed by Kittredge, we may assume

10. The Whole Workes of Samuel Daniel Esquire in Poetry, London, Printed by Nicholas Okes for Simon Waterson and are to be sold at his shoppe in Paules Church-yard at the Signe of the Crowne, 1623, p. 178 of *Delia*.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 179.

12. Henrietta C. Bartlett, *Mr. W. Shakespeare*, Yale University Press, 1922, p. 119.

13. *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, Jahrgang 1904, pp. 69-93.

that the First Part of *Henry IV* was written in 1597. It seems safe to assume that the curse on honor is a paraphrase of Tasso's words transmitted to Shakespeare through the channel of Daniel's translation.

W. H. Schofield searching for sources had suggested that Shakespeare must have been drawn to the exalted fools and even more to Sir Dragonet's comrade, Sir Dinadan—a mocker of Marck and the only developed comic character in Malory's *Morte D'Arthur*. Falstaff, he assumes, shares Dinadan's attitude of common sense with regard to chivalric hazards. Thus Dinadan rails against love: "I will not fight for you with three knights, heaven defend me. . . ." <sup>14</sup> It is after all the motif of the Coward Knight which goes at least as far back as Thersites.

But without detracting from the general assumption that such episodes as stressed by Schofield may have influenced the general structure of Falstaff's character, there is no doubt that in the particular case of the catechism on honor the resemblances with antecedents other than Tasso's *Aminta* are extremely vague, whereas the coincidence with the Italian source is strict and verbal.

*That Idle name of wind:  
That Idoll of deceit, that empty sound  
Call'd Honour. . . .* <sup>15</sup>

*What is honour? a word. What is that word honour? Air.  
. . . honour is a mere scutcheon.*

The concept is the same although the accent has shifted from the lofty melancholy of the shepherd chorus to the blatant cynicism of the succulent cad. Curiously enough, the tone of Falstaff's soliloquy draws closer to Giovanni Mauro's half jocular, half bitter anathemas than to the sigh of the pastoral. Even more surprising is it that some of Falstaff's words remind us almost exactly of words in Mauro's figures of speech.

*Doth he feel it? No. Doth he hear it? No. . . .  
Datemi cosa che con man si tocchi. . . .*

But there is hardly a possibility that Shakespeare may have known the Bernesque, half-obscure and untranslated poet of the "Dishonor of Honor." What had happened was one of the innumerable episodes in the intricate dialectics of Counter-Reformation and pre-Romantic upheaval. Mauro, protected by his clownish nonchalance, gets away with it. He can dare blasphemies against ethical standards and in the lenient

14. W. H. Schofield, *Chivalry in English Literature*, Cambridge, 1912.

15. Daniel, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

confusion of the pre-Counter-Reformation era is even allowed to dedicate his scherzos to one of his several tonsured protectors. Tasso, about 40 years later, is already in a tragic discord. Rebellion rumbles beneath the solid surface of his conformism. The *Aminta* chorus is clearly a pre-Rousseauistic and pre-Romantic proclamation smuggled in under cover of the suavity of Arcadian fancy. He was to atone for it and for many other unresolved conflicts through the rigor of his obsessive obedience to Prince and Church, Aristotelianism, and Inquisition and through the disintegration of his genius in defeat and madhouse.<sup>16</sup>

Falstaff, entirely loosened from ethical and theological standards, echoes the nostalgic Arcadian sigh and magnifies it in the radical void of his contempt. He is as much of an anarchist, although with a very different emphasis, as, say a *poète maudit* three centuries later. He certainly has not read, as Shakespeare has not read, Guarini's *Il Pastor fido*, the academic enlargement of Tasso's *Aminta*, a reed grown to the lustrous size of a trombone. It had been finished in 1589. There the new poet of the Counter-Reformation era, sobered by the events that had occurred in the meantime and instructed by the personal destiny of Tasso himself, revises in a parallel chorus, built on the very same meter and rime, Tasso's doctrine of honor and draws controversially a sharp line of demarcation between false honor, or vanity, that may and must be

16. Sperone Speroni (1500-1588), a grand inquisitor in the academic and literary world of the late Renaissance and Counter-Reformation, was prominent among the ghosts haunting the persecution mania—not always unjustified by factual experience—of Torquato Tasso. Already in comparatively early years Tasso had learned to fear and hate him, and Mopso in the final scene of *Aminta* 1 is a bitter caricature of the dreaded literary arbiter. Of course Speroni's works and especially his hyper-Aristotelian tragedy *Canace* (1546) were familiar to the poet of the *Aminta* and several idioms and images in *Aminta* are borrowed from the hopeless tragedy of Speroni. *Canace* stages an incest of brother and sister with the appalling punishment thereof and, strange as it may seem, with a belated repentance of the father, murderer of his guilty children and now wondering whether it would not have been better to let nature have its course and not to interfere with a crime of love. It is "honor" that rules the tragedy of *Canace*, it is "honor" that brings about the death of the two lovers, and on the word honor the nurse and confidant, and not she alone, hammers on and on through the whole play.

NUTRICE: "Lungamente ho condotto—la tua vita e il tuo onore—verso la sua salute" (ii, 2)

NUTRICE: "Queste secrete imprese, onde dipende—la salute e l'onore—delle donne gentili. . . ." (iii, 2)

PADRE: "Scellerati figlioli, così come—piú vi farebbe onore—l'avervi odiati a morte, che l'amarvi—di sì odioso amore. . . ." (iv, 2)

It is quite admissible that Tasso in one of his ambivalences both liked and hated the dramatic masterpiece, so to speak, of his distasteful mentor, taking advantage of some of its suggestions in style and emotion and on the other hand grinning at Speroni's insistence on the standard of "honor." *Canace* may be considered at least as a subsidiary inspiration for the *Aminta* chorus in dishonor of honor. It is as if Tasso were willing to break a lance or to spend a good word in favor of *Canace* and her brother-lover Macareo, followers of free nature against the death sentence of the cruel judge Speroni.

despised, and ethical or sacramental honor that must be respected and worshipped.

*Quel suon fastoso e vano,  
 Quell' imutil soggetto  
 Di lusinghe, di titoli e d'inganno,  
 ch' "onor" dal volgo insano  
 indegnamente è detto,  
 Non era ancor degli animi tiranno.  
 Ma sostener affanno  
 Per le vere dolcezze;  
 Tra i boschi e tra le gregge  
 La fede aver per legge,  
 Fu di quell'alme, al ben oprar avvezze,  
 cura d'onor felice  
 Cui dettare Onestà: "Piaccia, se lice."*

• • • • •

*Ma tu, deh! spiriti egregi  
 Forma ne' petti nostri  
 Verace Onor, de le grand' alme donna.  
 O regnator de' regi,  
 Deh! torna in questi chiostri,  
 Che senza te beati esser non ponno.<sup>17</sup>*

It is very unlikely that Shakespeare had any knowledge of this *tenzone* in verse. Even had Falstaff read such a piece, he would simply have scoffed at it. His resoluteness knows no hindrance.<sup>18</sup>

17. Guarini, *Il Pastor fido*, Act iv, scene 9, chorus. The commented edition of 1605, "Il Pastor Fido, Tragicomedia Pastorale del molto illustre Sig. Cavaliere Battista Guarini, In Venetia Appresso Gio. Battista Ciotti," has a very long gloss on this chorus: "Et perchè io credo esser cosa a tutti notissima," we read on page 343, "che'l poeta nostro habbia fatta questa Canzone a concorrenza del primo Choro, che è nell'*Aminta*, il qual comincia anch'egli O bella età dell'oro . . . havendo egli prese tutte le rime di quella—e con esse, non solo fabbricata la sua, mi detto tuttol' contrario di quello, che disse il Tasso: biasimando quella l'onore, e questa lodandolo: non aspetti il Lettore, ch'io dica qual di loro mi paia più bella; perciòchè non conviene a me di dar una tal sentenza; ma dico bene, che questa è di maggior fatica, di maggior arte, e'n conseguenza degna di maggior laude. . . ."

18. Arrigo Boito returned to the motif in his *Falstaff*, written for the music of Giuseppe Verdi (1893), and brilliantly re-italianized it:

*Il vostro Onor! Che onore? che onor? che onor! che ciancia!  
 Che baja—Può l'onore riempirvi la pancia?  
 No.—Può l'onor rimettervi uno stinco?—Non può.  
 Nè un piede? No.—Nè un dito?—No.—Nè un capello?—No.  
 L'onor non è chirurgo.—Che' è dunque?—Una parola.  
 Che c' è in questa parola? C' è dell'aria che vola.  
 Bel costrutto. L'onore lo può sentir chi è morto?  
 No.—Vive sol coi vivi? . . . Neppure: perchè a torto*

Thus also this anecdote in the genealogy of motifs shows how the dangers and promises of a wholesale revolt headed toward the extreme outcome of moral anarchism and poetic upheaval lay hidden, but not inert, in the escapism of the Italian poets of the Counter-Reformation, who were trying to save whatever could be saved of the delights of poetic imagination in a delusive Arcadian or operatic or baroque world, disentangled from any obligation or opposition to political discipline and clerical dogma. "Latet anguis in herba"—a hiding place was provided by the flowery grass of the pastoral for the snake of subversion.

Other rumblings could be heard beneath the glossy surface of Tasso's *Aminta*. There was impatience against perplexity, there was a catechism of immediate and ruthless action—especially in the great soliloquy of the Satyr, a progenitor of Caliban, against the impediments of law, human and divine. Already long before Caliban, the Second Murderer in *King Richard the Third* has learned full well the lesson:

Some certain dregs of conscience are yet within me. . . . I'll not meddle with it; it makes a man a coward; a man cannot steal, but it accuseth him; a man cannot swear, but it checks him; a man cannot lie with his neighbour's wife, but it detects him; . . . it fills one full of obstacles. . . . (I, iv, 122 ff.)

Here "conscience" takes the place which is held by "honor" in John Falstaff's speech.

*Richard III* was most probably written in 1592-93—a striking coincidence with the date of Daniel's *Aminta* translation. It was published in 1597, the same year in which was written *Henry IV*, Part 1. *Hamlet* came shortly after *Henry IV*. The protagonist is no professional murderer, nor is he for that matter a Falstaff, a cynical mocker, re-whistling the curse on honor and turning it again by an unconscious process to the original grotesque of Mauro. Yet, impotent and riotous, his dissatisfaction foams against all dikes. His "conscience" is far more than Falstaff's honor, it is religious heritage and metaphysical awe.<sup>19</sup> It cannot

*Lo gonfian le lusinghe, lo corrompe l'orgoglio,  
L'ammorban le calunie; e per me non ne voglio!* (Act 1, part 1)

19. That *conscience* in Shakespeare's passage merely means "reflection consciousness" is the assumption of John Dover Wilson in his comments to *Hamlet*, Cambridge University Press, 1936, p. 192. The hypothesis, even if it were not made untenable by the Murderer's speech in *Richard III* would be invalidated by the meaning, clearly moral and religious of the word *conscience* in other decisive passages of *Hamlet*.

. . . I'll have grounds  
More relative than this—the play's the thing  
Wherin I'll catch the conscience of the king. (II, 2, 607-609)

. . . is't not perfect conscience  
To quit him with this arm? . . . (V, 2, 68)

be disposed of with the scurrilous defiance of the buffoon or with the destructive purpose of the assassin. Nonetheless it is in a kindred atmosphere with Tasso's pathetic curse and with its twin implications—as exemplified in the tragedy of *Richard III* and in the farce of Falstaff—that Hamlet's basic tenet of sceptical intellectualism and absolute pragmatism is pronounced.

*Thus conscience does make cowards of us all.*<sup>20</sup>

Here, however, we have far transcended the half-evasive, half-humorous level of the war of words about honor and dishonor. Through Hamlet, as we all know, this world of ours comes most earnestly in touch with itself.

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LAERTES (to the King) My Lord, I'll hit him now.

KING. I do not think't.

LAERTES. And yet, 'tis almost 'gainst my conscience. (v, 2, 294-296)

Bartlett's *Shakespeare Concordance*, (s.v. *Conscience*) abundantly confirms this interpretation. Cf. also H. C. Matthes, "Thus Conscience does make cowards of us all," *Anglia*, 1936, p. 182 ff.

20. Whether or not Montaigne contributed supplementary inspiration is irrelevant to our purpose. Montaigne too—who incidentally knew Tasso and quoted the decisive passage of the *Gerusalemme Liberata* (*Essays*, Book I, Chapter xli)—breathed in a kindred atmosphere with the Italian post-Renaissance. See now Gaetano Firetto's *Torquato Tasso e la controriforma*, Palermo, 1939, on heretical and riotous undercurrents in Tasso's thought and poetry.

## POLYGAMY IN THE *LETTRES PERSANES*

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IN ATTEMPTING to reevaluate Montesquieu's reputation as a novelist, Professor F. C. Green writes:

His immense reputation as a publicist has so far excluded a proper consideration of the *Lettres Persanes*. The fictitious element of this work is usually dismissed rather contemptuously and summarily as so much pill-gilding.<sup>1</sup>

E. Carcassonne, in the introduction to his edition of the *Lettres persanes*, has since indicated his belief that the *chardinesque* material in the book is of a more serious nature than some criticism would admit<sup>2</sup> and Barckhausen had already suggested this point of view,<sup>3</sup> but there is no doubt that the eighteenth-century critics created a tradition, difficult to change, of unfavorable comparison between the earlier work and *L'Esprit des lois*.

It is proposed here to attempt to show the relationship of the "Harem situation" in the *Lettres persanes* to certain of Montesquieu's general ideas. For about one-fourth of the letters deal with the former,<sup>4</sup> and it must further be considered that several letters by Rica—notably 34, 38 and 63—and a large part of the famous series on population—114–122 inclusive—lose most of their significance if taken out of context with the intrigue.

Professor Chinard has pointed out that throughout the eighteenth century until 1798 it was a commonplace to state that the population of Europe was and had been steadily declining.<sup>5</sup> As far as the eighteenth century is concerned the problem would seem to have its roots in the 1680's. In 1685 Isaac Vossius published his *De Antiquae Romae Magnitudine*, in which he propounded in extravagant fashion the theory of decline of population which, as is well known, became Montesquieu's.<sup>6</sup> The problem brought on immediately a discussion of marriage

1. F. C. Green, "Montesquieu the Novelist and some Imitations of the *Lettres persanes*, *M.L.R.*, xx (1925), 32.

2. *Lettres persanes*, ed. E. Carcassonne, Paris, 1929, I, xxii ff. This is the edition utilised throughout this article.

3. As early as 1897, in the introduction to his edition of the *Lettres persanes*, reprinted in *Montesquieu, ses idées et ses œuvres*, Paris, 1907. See especially p. 171, where he discusses changes not made in Montesquieu's final redaction. See also Joseph Dedieu, *Montesquieu*, Paris 1913, *passim*.

4. The letters are, in the Carcassonne edition, numbers 2–4, 6, 7, 9, 20–22, 26, 27, 41–43, 47, 53, 62, 64, 65, 70, 71, 79, 96, 146–160.

5. See the edition by Chinard of Diderot's *Supplément au Voyage de Bougainville*, Paris, etc., 1935, p. 171 n. 2. Malthus' *Essay on the Principle of Population* was published in 1798.

6. This treatise appeared as the first article in *Isaci Vossii Observationum Liber*, London and Rotterdam, 1685. See Bayle's *Nouvelles de la République des lettres*, Jan. 1685, Art. ix.

customs. In the same year as Vossius' book there appeared the *De Benedictione Nuptiarum Commentatio* of Henricus Christophorus, whose discussion of the merits and demerits of polygamy found Bayle's praise because it decided in favor of monogamy.<sup>7</sup>

The modern discussion of the question of polygamy probably dates from 1674. In that year Johann Leyser (Lyser), German Lutheran pastor, of a family well known in Lutheran circles, published his 96-page pamphlet: *Discursus Politicus de Polygamia*, under the pseudonym Theophilus Alethaeus.<sup>8</sup> This Latin pamphlet, published at Freiburg, Germany, seems to have been allowed to pass. But in the following year Leyser returned to the charge with a German translation, published under his own name. The Lutherans, worried apparently for the morals of their flock, forced him to leave, and he found a refuge with Christian V of Denmark, as army-chaplain. Unfortunately for him, he was stubbornly interested in proving his point. In 1676 he republished his argument and Christian exiled him.<sup>9</sup> He seems to have passed to Sweden, for in 1682, having gathered many more authorities, he published his book, now swollen to 565 pages, at Lund under the title: *Polygamia Triumphatrix*. Bayle found this redaction important enough to offer a long review of it in *Nouvelles de la République des lettres* for April 1685. In December of the same year he returned to the subject to state that a certain Brunsmann (us) of Copenhagen had in 1679 published a refuta-

7. Henrici Christophori Hochmanni Lauenburgensis V. J. Lic. de benedictione nuptiarum commentatio qua frequentissimum argumentum . . . , Altdorfii apud Henricum Meyerum, 1685. See *Nouvelles de la République des lettres*, July 1686, Art. iv.

8. The Library of Congress possesses the most important editions of Leyser's work, as follows:

- (1) *Discursus / Politicus / de / Polygamia, / Auctore / Theophilo Alethaco. / Salomon, / Eme (C) (L)? ritatem nec vendi illam. / Johannes, / Si male locutus sum proba, si vero bene, / quare verberas me / Trademark / Friburgi, / Apud Henricum Cunrath. 1674 / Verso blank, 96 pp. 12°*
- (2) *Politischer Discurs, / zwischen / Monogamo / Und / Polygamo / von der / Polygamia, / oder / Vielweiberey / Aufgesetzt und mit 100. argumenten eroerert / von / Joanne Lysero / Trade-mark / Gedruckt zu Freyburgh, / Im Jare (sic) Anno 1675, dem 1. Januarius. / Verso dedication by the author, 40 pp., 4°. This item is bound together with: Theologisch / Advys / over die / Vrage, / of teen Dochter ge-oorloft is een t / ouwelijk / aen tegaan tegen wil ende danck van / haer Vader. / Trade-mark / In s'Graven-hage, / by Jan Veely Boeckverkooper woonende inde Gortstraet Anno 1658. /*
- (3) *Polygamia Triumphatrix, / Id est / Discursus Politicus / De / Polygamia / Auctore / Theophilo Aletheo, / cum Notis / Athanasii Vincentii, / Omnibus Anti-Polygamia ubique / locorum, terrarum, insularum, pagorum, / urbium, modeste & pie opposita. / Trade-mark / Londini Scanorum. / Sumtibus Authoris post. Annum MD.C.LXXXII. / Verso blank, 8 pp. pref., 565 pp. text, 14 pp. Addenda, 18 pp. index, 4°.*

9. See Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, 5th ed., 1740, III, 127, Art. *Lyserus, Jean*.

tion of the *Discursus* entitled *Monogamia Victrix*, and that he was about to bring out a reply to *Polygania Triumphatrix* under the title *Polygania Triumphata*.<sup>10</sup> Bayle added a short article on Leyser to the *Dictionnaire* and mentioned him in a footnote to the article *Lamech*.<sup>11</sup>

Bayle disapproved of Leyser's attitude to polygamy, but nevertheless pitied him for his misfortunes, for the bad treatment he received at the hands of booksellers, and felt that he had been unwarrantably persecuted by the authorities.<sup>12</sup> The subject of polygamy interested Bayle enough for him to return to it in his *Nouvelles Lettres critiques sur l'Histoire du calvinisme*.<sup>13</sup>

Leyser's opinions, to judge by the frequency with which they were printed between 1674 and 1703,<sup>14</sup> must have gained wide attention. In addition to Bayle's own comments on them and the books he cites in refutation, we might mention the *Uxor Christiana* published by Johann Meyer in 1688.<sup>15</sup> According to the review of it in the *Bibliothèque Universelle* for December 1687, Meyer, a professor at Hardwycke, intended it as a reply to Leyser.

Among many others who took up the question of polygamy in the eighteenth century was Voltaire. As was usual in the period under discussion, the problem was coupled by him with that of population. One of his remarks is worth quoting because it is curiously reminiscent of Bayle's review of *Polygania Triumphatrix*. Bayle had stated:

Les raisons que l'on allègue à l'égard du Droit de Nature sont, que l'homme est tellement conditionné, qu'il peut faire plusieurs enfans dans un an; or la nature ne fait rien en vain, & il ne saurait exercer cette puissance avec une seule femme, donc. On ajoute que la nature ayant donné le don de continence à toutes les femelles après la conception, mais non pas aux maris, il est clair qu'elle a prétendu que les hommes eussent plusieurs femmes, & cela avec autant plus de raison que la continence est très-utile aux femmes grosses pour ne pas troubler la nature dans la formation du *fætus*. Toutes ces raisons supposent faux ou prouvent trop.<sup>16</sup>

In *L'Essai sur les mœurs* Voltaire says:

C'est un grand problème parmi les politiques, si la polygamie est utile à la

10. *Nouvelles de la République des lettres*, Dec. 1685, end of Art. vi.

11. *Dictionnaire*, iii, 40, Art. *Lamech*, and Note A. See also *Supra*, note 9.

12. *Supra*, note 9.

13. In *Œuvres diverses*, La Haye, 1727, Tome II; see especially letters xxI, xxII. Section x of the latter contains *Remarques sur la polygamie*.

14. At least 8 times, as a collation of Library of Congress, British Museum and Bibliothèque Nationale catalogues shows.

15. *Uxor Christiana, sive de conjugio inter duos . . .*, Amsterdam, 1688. See *Bibliothèque Universelle*, Dec. 1687.

16. *Nouvelles de la République des lettres*, April 1685, Art. I, paragraph 4.

société et à la propagation. . . . Le temps perdu par les grossesses, par les couches, par les incommodités naturelles aux femmes, semble exiger que ce temps soit réparé.<sup>17</sup>

Voltaire found the question important enough to include a long section under *Polygamie* in his article *Femmes* of the *Dictionnaire portatif*.

The relationships between the sexes, and particularly the marriage-relationship, were frequently included in the growing sociological interests of eighteenth-century thinkers. To write about polygamy did not, in itself, merely connote *gauloiserie*. It cannot be denied that Montesquieu pondered deeply on the subject, for it receives extensive treatment in *L'Esprit des lois*.<sup>18</sup> It will be remembered that he was at pains to express his considered judgement on it as follows:

A regarder la polygamie en général, indépendamment des circonstances qui peuvent la faire un peu tolérer, elle n'est point utile au genre humain ni à aucun des deux sexes, soit à celui qui abuse, soit à celui dont on abuse. Elle n'est non plus utile aux enfants, et un de ses grands inconvénients est que le père et la mère ne peuvent avoir la même affection pour leurs enfants: un père ne peut pas aimer vingt enfants comme une mère en aime deux.<sup>19</sup>

He was careful to emphasize this attitude in his *Défense*.<sup>20</sup>

It has been assumed that polygamy came into Montesquieu's ken through the writings of Chardin. That is one probable source, an obvious source for local color. But the connection with more sociological treatments of the question has been ignored, although Montesquieu's interests were always more sociological than ethnographical. Yet he was cognizant of the arguments of the three decades preceding his *Lettres persanes*, for he quotes *Polygamia Triumphatrix* by title.<sup>21</sup> The question therefore to be resolved is whether, under the local coloring admittedly borrowed from Chardin, Montesquieu concealed serious ideas which might proceed from the controversy surrounding Leyser's arguments and might foreshadow the final conclusions reached in the *Défense de l'Esprit des lois*.<sup>22</sup>

Several of the letters of Montesquieu's novel are devoted to philosophic discussion of the relations between the sexes. Of these perhaps the most interesting is 38, from Rica to Ibben, where the question of the subjection of women to men is treated by the philosophic Persian

17. Moland, xi, 216.

18. See especially Book 16.

19. *L'Esprit des lois*, Book 16, vi.

20. Section *De la polygamie*.

21. Letter 36.

22. *Supra*, notes 19, 20.

in terms that would justify us in viewing Montesquieu as a pioneer feminist:

C'est une grande question, parmi les hommes, de sçavoir s'il est plus avantageux d'ôter aux femmes la liberté que de la leur laisser. . . . C'est une autre question de sçavoir si la Loi naturelle soumet les femmes aux hommes. "Non, me disoit l'autre jour un philosophe très galant: la Nature n'a jamais dicté une telle loi. L'empire que nous avons sur elles est une véritable tyrannie; elles ne nous l'ont laissé prendre que parce qu'elles ont plus de douceur que nous, et par conséquent plus d'humanité et de raison.

This point of view was, so far as I know, never developed further by Montesquieu; *L'Esprit des lois* breathes a far more conservative spirit. But its expression reveals very clearly what was his basic attitude. The dignity of man, which in common with Voltaire and the Encyclopedists he felt to be the supreme good to be preserved by society, included the dignity of woman.

The question which had agitated the earlier opponents in the controversy over polygamy was largely whether theologically it could be admitted. There is not a trace of this theological interest in Montesquieu. Instead, he approaches the subject as one would expect a lawyer to approach it, from the point of view of the interest of society and of the individual. As he himself later stated,<sup>23</sup> the practice is conducive to the dignity of neither sex; on the contrary, it is destructive of all the values which society should be at pains to secure; in particular it is destructive of those natural ties of affection which are the firmest bonds of family life. The main practical argument that Leyser had brought forward for polygamy was that it would favor propagation. In the *Lettres persanes* Montesquieu includes what amounts to an essay on population (letters 114-122), in which, replying to such suggestions as Leyser's, he points out that if a husband be impotent, or for some other reason disregard the command to increase and multiply, not one but several women are rendered barren. Further, in those countries where the practice is carried on, castration of harem servants is also practiced, thereby reducing the number of prospective fathers.<sup>24</sup>

It is suggested that the "Harem plot" was, among other things, intended as a case-study in polygamous practices to illustrate Montesquieu's criticism of them. It will be remembered that the plot depends on the fact that Usbek, for political reasons, has had to leave Persia and his harem (Letter 8). He is not really in love with any of his wives, but

23. *Supra*, notes 18, 19.

24. Letter 114.

is actuated in his relations with them by a frigid jealousy, offering the author opportunity for psychological analysis (Letter 6). Usbek is, for a Moslem, an enlightened man who attempts to rule his wives in a liberal manner (Letter 2). However, as his eunuchs warn him, a despotism must be absolute or perish (Letters 64, 96). A series of letters informs him of the growing disorder and unrest in his harem (Letters 146 ff.). Finally, the result of using harsher measures is that he discovers his favorite wife Roxane to have betrayed him with another man and that she, in dying, writes him a magnificent letter declaring her independence of the unnatural tyranny he has exercised over her (Letter 160).

The plot in itself illustrates Montesquieu's point, but along its course we are treated to a series of pictures which bring out the asocial nature of polygamous practices. As Carcassonne points out, the life-history of the chief eunuch, while perhaps offering delicious morsels to the pornographically-minded, has decidedly tragic implications.<sup>25</sup> It has perhaps more than that; the series of self-revelations on the part of the eunuchs, as well as that of Usbek in Letter 6, offer an extraordinary study in abnormal psychology. The sexual frustration which revenges itself in sadistic treatment of the harem's inmates and of fellow-servants is brought out in sharp outline, and incidentally, in the case of Pharan,<sup>26</sup> the power which, contrary to natural law, Usbek exercises over the persons of his followers. Even those of his wives who remain "faithful" cannot be said to exercise virtue; how can there be virtue without liberty? Usbek himself, in an artistically arranged revelation, points out the fact:

Vous me direz peut-être que vous m'avez été toujours fidèle. Eh! pouviez-vous ne l'être pas? . . . Vous vous vantez d'une vertu qui n'est pas libre, et peut-être que vos désirs impurs vous ont ôté mille fois le mérite et le prix de cette fidélité que vous vantez tant.<sup>27</sup>

The women, closed up together in the harem, with no outside interests, are absorbed in their petty quarrels and jealousies (Letter 47). The girl-children have to receive an unnatural education to enable them to support the adult life of the harem (Letter 62). Usbek himself criticizes his own system in such speeches as the following to the First White Eunuch:

Et qui êtes-vous, que de vils instrumens que je puis briser à ma fantaisie; qui n'existez qu'autant que vous sçavez obéir; qui n'êtes dans le monde que

25. *Op. cit.*, I, p. xxiv. The reference is to Letter 9.

26. Letters 41-43. See letter 34 for philosophic treatment of the question.

27. Letter 20, Usbek to Zachi.

pour vivre sous mes loix ou pour mourir dès que je l'ordonne; qui ne respirez qu'autant que mon bonheur, mon amour, ma jalousie même, ont besoin de votre bassesse; et enfin, qui ne pouvez avoir d'autre partage que la soumission, d'autre ame que mes volontés, d'autre espérance que ma félicité?<sup>28</sup>

The ideas expressed either by the implications of the plot itself, or in the mouths of the various characters who act a part in it, are in perfect harmony with Montesquieu's general point of view. In the first place, the plot itself is a study of social, as contrasted with political, despotism —what he later characterized as "l'Esclavage domestique"<sup>29</sup>—and of its results, both personal and social. It becomes abundantly clear that at this time already Montesquieu views polygamy as injurious to all individuals concerned, whether ruled or ruling, that he considers it to be tantamount to race-suicide. This remained his conviction in his maturer years, as we have seen.

It must further be admitted, that whatever may be the artistic merits of the work as a whole, the plot affords Montesquieu the opportunity for some very fine sketches. The subtle self-analysis of Usbek in Letter 6, the portraits of the eunuchs, are well-imagined, and the book would be memorable were it only for Roxane's magnificent declaration of independence which closes the story:

J'ai pu vivre dans la servitude, mais j'ai toujours été libre: j'ai reformé tes loix sur celles de la Nature, et mon esprit s'est toujours tenu dans l'indépendance.<sup>30</sup>

The *Lettres persanes* contain in embryo the sociological and political ideas of *L'Esprit des lois*, of which those on sexual relationships are not the least important. The strong correlation between those of the earlier work and those of the later would suggest the necessity of approaching them all from the same point of view. If we feel that the touches of *gauloiserie* with which admittedly Montesquieu enlivened his work are so shocking to tender sensibilities that they constitute a defect, let us at least give him the credit of believing that they were not put in for their own sake alone, arbitrarily and salaciously. Montesquieu contributed so much to the dignity of man that it seems a poor reward to thank him by reducing his stature and censoring his text merely to satisfy a still-lingering *pruderie huguenote*.

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28. Letter 21.

29. *L'Esprit des lois*, Book 16.

30. Letter 160.

## SAINTE-BEUVE ET LA BOURGOGNE: LETTRES INÉDITES

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LA CORRESPONDANCE Sainte-Beuve-Foisset (1833-1855) évoque, entre autres, les figures du Président de Brosses et de Buffon.<sup>1</sup> A eux seuls, ces noms illustres suffiraient à lui assurer un intérêt qui dépasse les frontières provinciales.

Les deux correspondants ne sont pas de la même famille d'esprits, pour employer l'expression de Sainte-Beuve. Théophile Foisset (1800-1873) était croyant; c'était un lettré doublé d'un savant, sobre dans ses écrits. Cette figure un peu austère ressemble à une ombre du dix-septième siècle. Elle a la tranquillité d'une âme libérée des incertitudes métaphysiques, en fort contraste avec Sainte-Beuve que tourmente la recherche d'un inconnu qui lui échappe.

Cette différence paraîtra dans les jugements que les deux critiques porteront sur leurs contemporains et sur les écrivains bourguignons de jadis;<sup>2</sup> elle se manifeste dès le début de cette correspondance dans la lettre que Sainte-Beuve adresse à Foisset le 28 février, 1833.

Foisset venait de donner à la *Revue Européenne* (No. XVIII, février 1833) un article sur "Les lettres philosophiques adressées à un Bérminois," d'E. Lerminier. Il y accuse Lerminier, alors professeur d'histoire des législations comparées au Collège de France, d'incompétence et d'ignorance; il lui conteste toute autorité en matière de droit et de philosophie. Lerminier "philosophe" choque en Foisset le croyant comme Lerminier "jurisconsulte" choque en lui le magistrat.

Mais Sainte-Beuve n'était pas du même avis:

1. Cette correspondance est inédite. Les lettres de Théophile Foisset sont conservées à l'Institut: nous en devons la communication à M. Marcel Bouteron. Nous avons trouvé celles de Sainte-Beuve aux archives de Bligny; la permission de les publier nous fut donnée par Mme Maginot. Qu'ils veuillent bien recevoir nos remerciements. Nous avons consulté en outre: *Correspondance générale de Sainte-Beuve*, recueillie, classée et annotée par Jean Bonnerot, Paris, Librairie Stock, Tomes I-III, 1935-1938; Victor Giraud, *La Vie secrète de Sainte-Beuve*, Paris, Stock, 1935; M. Choisy, *Sainte-Beuve, l'homme et le poète*, Paris, Plon, 1921; André Bellessort, *Sainte-Beuve et le dix-neuvième siècle*, Paris, Perrin, 1927.

2. Sainte-Beuve a souvent parlé de la Bourgogne; il a consacré aux écrivains bourguignons (Jeannin, Bossuet, de Brosses, Lacordaire, Lamartine . . .) une vingtaine d'articles; il a parlé de Bouhier, de la Monnoye, de Piron, de Foisset, d'A. de Latour; il a enfin consacré la gloire d'Aloysius Bertrand. Des villes de cet ancien duché, l'auteur des *Consolations* aimait surtout la capitale et se la rappela avec nostalgie dans ces vers adressés en 1829 au peintre Boulanger:

*Ami, te souviens-tu qu'en route pour Cologne,  
Un dimanche, à Dijon, au cœur de la Bourgogne,  
Nous allions, admirant portails, clochers et tours,  
Et les vieilles maisons dans les arrière-cours?*

[ . . . ] Je vous trouve, si vous me permettez de vous le dire [écrit-il à Foisset en 1833], un peu sévère, et même injuste, car si ce que vous reprochez [à Lerminier] est fondé en partie, il y a beaucoup d'autres côtés utiles, estimables, et d'un haut talent aussi bien que d'une véritable étude . . . <sup>3</sup>

Premier désaccord.

Un deuxième exemple suffira pour conclure. En 1843 Foisset accuse Sainte-Beuve de méconnaître Bossuet;<sup>4</sup> il court à la rescoufle de son cher Evêque, que l'auteur de *Port-Royal* avait "immolé" à la gloire de Saint-Cyran en faisant du docteur janséniste le directeur d'âmes par excellence. Or, Foisset n'a jamais aimé Saint-Cyran et il s'écrie: "Je ne puis souscrire à cet éloge [de Saint-Cyran]. Le directeur chrétien par excellence, c'est l'auteur du *Discours sur la vie cachée et de la Préparation à la mort*; c'est Bossuet. . . M. Sainte-Beuve a-t-il lu les lettres de direction de Bossuet? Je soupçonne que non." Et Foisset d'accuser Jansénistes et jansénisme d'avoir fait une tentative rétrograde, d'avoir mutilé le dogme et insulté Dieu; de cabale, de duplicité, enfin de tous les crimes qui puissent venir sous la plume d'un bon procureur de la ville de Bossuet.

Ainsi averti, le lecteur ne sera pas étonné de trouver dans cette correspondance des divergences d'opinion sur les auteurs et les problèmes qui y sont discutés—divergences, du reste, qui n'empêchent pas le magistrat d'exprimer une admiration sincère pour le talent unique du critique, ni l'auteur des *Lundis* d'exprimer son respect pour l'honnête érudition du grand Bourguignon.

## I

SAINTE-BEUVE À TH. FOISSET<sup>5</sup>

[28 février 1833]

Monsieur,

Il y a bien des jours que je voulais répondre à la lettre que vous avez fait joindre à l'envoi d'un exemplaire des poésies de M. Brugnot. J'avais à vous remercier déjà de la mention si flatteuse et trop bienveillante que vous aviez faite de moi dans la Biographie de cet homme excellent que j'appréciais bien, quoique j'aie eu peu d'occasions de le voir. Madame Brugnot, dans une lettre dont j'ai été honoré et touché en me remerciant des lignes d'annonce exprime le

3. En 1863, cependant, dans son article sur Charles Magnin, Sainte-Beuve donnera cette opinion sur l'auteur des "Lettres": "Lerminier n'était qu'un faux génie qui brisa de bonne heure et manqua sa carrière; la continuité, la patience et l'économie prudente devaient avoir raison contre lui à la longue et l'emporter."

4. *Le Correspondant*, 1 (1843), 32-51.

5. Cette lettre est adressée à "M. Th. Foisset à Dijon." Les mots "à Dijon" furent biffés et l'adresse suivante fut ajoutée: "Juge au Tribunal à Beaune." Il y a trois cachets de poste: 1 mars 1833; Dijon 3 mars 33; Beaune 4 mars 1833.

désir d'un article plus détaillé dans la Revue et vous même me marquez le même désir. Vous savez que dans la Revue les articles de critique littéraire longs et signés sont rares : il n'y a guère que pour des ouvrages d'un intérêt très vif et du moment, que la critique y prend cette dimension : *Lucrèce Borgia, le Roi s'amuse*, etc.<sup>6</sup> Quant à refaire une page dans le bulletin littéraire, il me serait à peu près impossible de ne pas répéter la première que j'ai écrite. Je serais donc assez embarrassé de satisfaire au désir de Madame Brugnot et le vôtre qui est aussi le mien, si je ne vous réservais à la première occasion de reparler des poésies de M. Brugnot soit dans une revue générale, comme vous le dites, soit à propos de tout autre sujet analogue. Veuillez, je vous prie, faire agréer mes excuses de cette sorte, à Madame Brugnot.<sup>7</sup> J'ai lu de vous, Monsieur, dans la *Revue Européenne*, un excellent morceau sur un plan d'histoire littéraire de Bourgogne : il y a sur De Brosses, sur Bossuet, sur dix autres personnages de vos compatriotes de bien franches et expressives esquisses.<sup>8</sup>

Je viens de lire de vous un autre morceau sur Lerminier.<sup>9</sup> Je vous trouve, si vous me permettez de vous le dire, un peu sévère, et même injuste, car si ce que vous reprochez est fondé en partie, il y a beaucoup d'autres côtés utiles, estimables, et d'un haut talent aussi bien que d'une véritable étude. Que serait-ce si l'on jugeait si au vif M. de Chateaubriand, par exemple, ou tel autre de ces talents d'éclat, d'orgueil et d'audace de la famille desquels est M. Lerminier. Vous me pardonnerez, Monsieur, de vous contredire ainsi en lettre comme je le ferai en causant. Je suis heureux d'avoir vu que je n'étais pas effacé de votre souvenir et je vous prie de croire que vous êtes resté tout à fait au mien comme un des hommes dont j'apprécie le plus le caractère, l'esprit et dont j'ambitionnerais le plus une moins rare et lointaine connaissance.

Tout à vous  
Ste Beuve

Ce 28 février

Rue du Mont-Parnasse  
No. 147 ter

## II

TH. FOISSET À SAINTE-BEUVE

[26 mars 1842]

Monsieur,

Auriez-vous souvenance de certains projets d'une histoire littéraire de Bourgogne dont le programme ne vous avait pas déplu en 1833 ? Ces projets ont abouti au volume que voici. Permettez-moi de vous en faire hommage.<sup>10</sup>

6. Il s'agit de la *Revue des Deux Mondes*; voir les lettres du 17 et du 25 février 1833 à V. Hugo (à propos des articles sur *Lucrèce Borgia*) dans l'édition de la *Correspondance générale* (1, lettres 276 et 277).

7. La figure de Brugnot sera évoquée dans l'article sur A. Bertrand (1842).

8. *Revue Européenne*, No. xvii, janvier 1833.

9. *Ibid.*, No. xviii, février 1833.

10. *Le Plan d'une histoire littéraire de Bourgogne projetée par l'Académie des Sciences, Arts et*

M. A. de Latour m'assure que vous serez assez aimable pour le lire et pour en dire quatre mots dans un petit coin des *Deux Mondes*. J'y attacherais certes le plus grand prix; car j'ai gardé chèrement la mémoire des trop courts instants que j'ai passés avec vous et vous pouvez me compter depuis quinze ans parmi vos plus fidèles.

26 mars 42

Th. Foisset  
au bon Lafontaine  
rue de Grenelle S. G.

### III

SAINTE-BEUVÉ À TH. FOISSET<sup>11</sup>

[3 avril 1842<sup>12</sup>]

Monsieur,

J'ai reçu et je lis avec un vif intérêt votre histoire du président De Brosses; j'avais déjà goûté extrêmement votre excellente publication de sa correspondance avec Voltaire.<sup>13</sup> J'ai été un peu confus et je m'estime très honoré de voir un mot de moi placé en tête de votre nouvel ouvrage:<sup>14</sup> ce m'est une preuve que

*Belles-Lettres* de Dijon, parut d'abord dans les *Mémoires de l'Académie*, année 1832, partie des lettres, pp. 5-16. Ce qui distingue la Bourgogne, entre toutes les contrées-françaises, dit l'auteur, "c'est son extrême civilisation, sa rare culture intellectuelle. Sa fécondité inslansante en hommes qui ont excellés dans tous les arts de l'esprit." Le volume dont il s'agit est *Le Président de Brosses, histoire des lettres et des parlements au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, Olivier-Fulgence, 1842.

11. Cette lettre est adressée à "M. Foisset, Hôtel du Bon Lafontaine, 16, rue de Grenelle, St. Germain, Paris"; elle est sans timbre de poste.

En 1842, Foisset envoia au critique de la *Revue des Deux Mondes* un exemplaire de son *Histoire des lettres et des parlements au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (qui venait de paraître), dans l'espoir d'obtenir un article de Sainte-Beuve; cet espoir ne se réalisa que dix ans plus tard.

Foisset fait pénétrer son lecteur dans la vie intellectuelle, parlementaire, ecclésiastique de Dijon au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle; il lui montre une ville de province, mais "véritablement une grande ville," vers 1750.

Toute l'activité littéraire du magistrat est analysée par son biographe. Ce qui a manqué à de Brosses, selon Foisset et selon Sainte-Beuve, c'est de n'avoir jamais vécu à Paris; sa faiblesse serait ainsi la conséquence de sa grandeur qui est d'avoir été un des véritables grands hommes de province, "l'un des derniers grands représentants de l'érudition et de la littérature provinciale de l'ancienne France," selon le mot de Sainte-Beuve. En parlant du livre de Foisset dans son premier article sur de Brosses, Sainte-Beuve s'arrête de préférence au chapitre consacré au voyage en Italie, à ces "Lettres" que Stendhal aimait et loua, et que Sainte-Beuve préféra aux livres de Beyle. Mais de Brosses, écrivain et magistrat, est révélé dans l'incident des moules de bois. Il faut le relire dans le chapitre consacré par Foisset à la *Querelle avec Voltaire* et dans l'article que Sainte-Beuve en a tiré le lundi 8 novembre 1852: "Voltaire et le Président de Brosses ou une intrigue académique au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle." Il s'agit des coupes de bois que le maître coquin, "poignardé d'avarice," refusa de payer à Charlot Baudy en prétendant que Charles de Brosses lui en avait fait cadeau. La suite des tracasseries, des insolences de ce scapin ne s'arrête que devant la dignité et la réponse de celui qui se sert de ces fagots pour chauffer si vertement Voltaire qu'il en pleura de rage, et s'en vengea d'une façon mesquine.

12. La date est fixée par une lettre de Foisset à un ami. Foisset est à Paris le 3 et le 4 avril 1842; il s'occupe de sa biographie du Président.

13. La correspondance fut publiée en 1837.

14. Foisset avait cité ce mot de Sainte-Beuve: "On aime, après les Révolutions qui ont

vos anciennes bienveillances se continuent toujours pour moi, Monsieur, à travers les années et les éloignemens. Je serais heureux de parler de De Brosses et de ce qu'il vous doit; ce n'est pour moi qu'une question de tems et de loisir, mais je tâcherai de me le faire.

Recevez, je vous en prie, l'expression de mes sentimens les plus distingués et dévoués.

Ste Beuve  
Ce 3

#### IV

TH. FOISSET À SAINTE-BEUVRE

Dijon, 5 novembre 1852

Monsieur,

J'ai eu le malheur de lire un peu tard votre courrier de lundi dernier: permettez-moi de vous en remercier en toute effusion de cœur. J'avoue que je me croyais dans votre disgrâce, sans avoir conscience de l'avoir mérité: je vois qu'il n'en est rien et j'en éprouve une vive joie. Je ne sais, Monsieur, si vous avez gardé souvenance de la première fois qu'il nous a été donné de nous rencontrer, chez M. Dubois (*du Globe*), il y a vingt-cinq ans.

Pour moi, je ne l'ai jamais oublié! Rien de ce que vous avez écrit depuis lors ne m'a été indifférent, et vos *Lundi* en particulier, recueillis en volume, font tous les ans les délices de nos soirées d'automne à la campagne. Il y a bien quelques endroits à passer pour un père qui lit devant ses filles; mais ce n'en est pas moins la plus charmante lecture qui se puisse faire et celle qui prête le plus à des causeries dont chacun prend sa part et qui sont pleines d'intérêt pour tous.

Oserai-je prendre la liberté de vous dire que, dans Buffon, vous jugez l'homme (je ne dis pas l'écrivain) plus favorablement que ne le permettent des documents que j'ai eus dans mes mains? Mais vous jugez mon Président à merveille. J'aime surtout ce que vous dites de son style: "le fait est qu'il ne songe pas à écrire." Et je vous sais plus de gré encore d'avoir résisté à la tentation de rien citer de "ses parties folâtres et un peu irrévérences parce qu'en les détachant, comme vous le dites excellamment encore, on paraîtrait leur donner un sens qu'elles n'ont pas et qui les dénature"; il n'y a que vous pour voir si juste et pour dire si bien. J'attends avec impatience la querelle avec Voltaire.<sup>15</sup>

A vous mille fois

Th. Foisset

On vient de retrouver des centaines de lettres inédites du Président de Brosses

changé les Sociétés, à se retourner en arrière; et aux divers sommets qui s'ègent à l'horizon, à voir s'isoler et se sentir, *comme les divinités des lieux*, certaines grandes figures. . . Il est des représentantes naturelles et vraies pour chaque moment social: mais, d'un peu loin, seulement, le nombre diminue, et il ne reste qu'une tête dominante."

15. "Voltaire et le Président de Brosses ou une intrigue académique au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle" parut le lundi, 8 novembre 1852.

ses. Je compte en publier un choix tiré à très petit nombre et je vous prierai d'en accepter un exemplaire.

## V

TH. FOISSET À SAINTE-BEUVÉ<sup>16</sup>

25 février 53

Monsieur,

M. le Marquis d'Ivry me fait souvenir un peu inopinément qu'il part demain matin pour Paris, et je n'ai qu'un moment pour retrouver ces quelques mots du Président de Brosses sur Buffon, auxquels j'avais accordé je crois, une importance exagérée. Les voici; je les tire d'une lettre adressée le 24 octobre 1748 à M. Loppin de Gémeaux, avocat général au parlement de Dijon.<sup>17</sup>

“Notre ami Buffon est sans contredit un grand philosophe, et je n'en ai point connu qui fût plus au-dessus des préjugés de l'amitié: cela m'aurait beaucoup fâché autrefois, parce que celle que j'avais pour lui était des plus sincères. Mais il y a longtemps qu'il travaille à m'en guérir et à me restreindre au cas que l'on doit faire de son esprit, l'un des plus pénétrants, des plus métaphysiques et des plus dilucides qui n'ont jamais été.”

Quand le Président écrivait cela, il avait de l'humeur contre son camarade de classe; mais il avait 39 ans et il connaissait bien son homme.

Buffon n'a jamais aimé que Buffon. Il a dit de la fauvette: “Tous ses mouvements, ont l'air du sentiment.” Mais, s'il n'y avait d'éloquence que celle du cœur, il faudrait reconnaître qu'il n'a jamais été éloquent. C'est lui qui a dit de l'amour, qu'il n'a de bon que le physique.

J'ai lu bien des lettres de lui et je n'y ai rien vu qui ne décelle une âme vulgaire. En 1771, il ne manque guère de se déclarer pour la Cour, pour Maupeou et pour Madame du Barry, contre les Parlements et contre son ami de Brosses.

Le voyage de Hérault de Séchelles à Montbard est assurément, comme l'a dit Cuvier, une violation des droits de l'hospitalité; mais il ne calomnie pas.<sup>18</sup>

16. La lettre est adressée à “Monsieur Sainte-Beuve de l'Académie Française, à Paris.”

Les deux correspondants s'accordaient moins bien sur Buffon que sur de Brosses. Foisset jugea Buffon une première fois dans son étude sur de Brosses; il y accuse l'auteur de l'*Histoire naturelle* de vulgarité et de sensualité, et de manquer de sensibilité. Quand Sainte-Beuve lut la correspondance de Buffon (publiée par Nadault de Buffon) il nota ce qu'il y a de peu distingué, mais l'attribua, en partie, à l'esprit bourguignon en général! Il fit pourtant une concession importante à Foisset.—“Il n'y manque [à la pensée morale de Buffon, conclut-il dans un de ses articles], pour la compléter, que ce que Buffon n'avait pas assez, il y manque le rayon, l'humble désir qui appelle la bénédiction d'en haut sur l'humaine sueur et qui fait demander le pain quotidien,” l'on verra bien qu'il ne se contredit pas non plus. Ce dernier mot de Sainte-Beuve sur Buffon n'échappe pas à Foisset qui s'en souvient dans sa lettre du 16 avril 1854 et le fait sourire de tristesse. C'est peut-être au fond cette considération morale, pour ne pas dire religieuse, qui orienta l'attitude de Foisset.

17. Ch.-Catherine Loppin de Gémeaux, avocat général au parlement de Bourgogne 1736-1753. De Lacuisine: “Liste chronologique des [ . . . ] avocats [ . . . ] généraux [ . . . ] du Parlement de Bourgogne [ . . . ],” dans *Le Parlement de Bourgogne*, 1, cxix, 1re éd., Paris, 1857.

18. Marie-Jean Hérault de Séchelles (1760—décapité en 1794): *Visite à Buffon*, 1785, ou *Voyage à Montbard*, 1802; l'érudit G. Peignot en avait donné une édition en 1829. Sainte-

Dans Buffon, l'intelligence était sans cesse tendue vers le grand: quand il couvait sa pensée, elle s'élevait très haut; elle rencontrait la chaleur et le coloris; elle devenait ample, noble, féconde. Mais, du premier jet, avant l'incubation, elle est terne et médiocre (le mot n'est pas trop fort). Voyez sa correspondance.

Il aimait la gloire plus que la nature. S'il n'a pas répondu aux critiques c'est par esprit de conduite plus que par dignité; d'ailleurs l'admiration publique le dispensait de répondre.

On vous a rapporté qu'on l'adorait à Montbard, j'ai toujours oui dire le contraire. La bonté lui manquait essentiellement.

Je ne puis admettre non plus qu'il fût homme à prendre part aux *pratiques du culte* "avec une sorte d'émotion sincère, par l'imagination et la sensibilité."

Je sais bien que je ne saurais vous persuader. Comme Madame Necker, comme Hume et Gibbon, vous ne pouvez concevoir Buffon qu'à travers l'auréole que son *Histoire Naturelle* lui a faite. Moi qui ai lu toute une correspondance de lui, des lettres de sa jeunesse et de son âge mûr, j'en ai reçu une impression indélébile.

Pardon mille fois; j'aurais mieux fait de vous dire le plaisir infini que je vous dois tous les mardis. De tout ce qui est contemporain, je ne lis plus que vous, et sauf en ce qui touche mon illustre compatriote de Montbard, je suis toujours de votre avis.

Foisset

## VI

SAINTE-BEUVRE À TH. FOISSET

Paris 15 janvier 1854

Mon cher Monsieur,

Me permettrez-vous de m'adresser à vous pour vous demander un renseignement sur l'un des hommes qui honorent le plus votre chère Bourgogne? Je médite un ou deux articles sur le président Jeannin le grand négociateur.<sup>19</sup> On me dit que la bibliothèque de Dijon possède des manuscrits soit de lui, soit le concernant. Pourriez-vous avoir la bonté de me dire ce qui en est à cet égard, et si, en essayant de parler du président Jeannin d'après les écrits publiés, on ne courrait pas risque d'être trop incomplet sur son compte? Peut-être aussi que

Beuve, parlant de l'auteur du *Voyage*, l'appelle "espion léger, infidèle et moqueur . . ." (*Causeries du Lundi*, éd. Garnier, IV, 354).

19. C'est donc depuis janvier 1854 que Sainte-Beuve s'intéresse au Président Jeannin, le célèbre conseiller bourguignon dont "l'antique prud'homie, la rectitude d'esprit, le courage, le grand jugement, la hardiesse de décision" donneront au critique l'envie de payer sa dette "envers une mémoire à la fois considérable et non toute-fois populaire et vulgaire." Foisset lui répondra par deux fois, le mettant au courant des travaux publiés sur Jeannin, esquissant lui-même les lignes essentielles du portrait, et lui indiquant ce qu'il reste à faire, c'est-à-dire, de dégager le Jeannin, ministre de Henri IV.

Sainte-Beuve n'hésita pas à emprunter des passages assez longs aux lettres de Foisset et de les insérer dans ses articles sur Jeannin (à comparer la lettre du 20-26 janvier, 1854, avec l'article du lundi, 8 mai 1854).

dans le temps que paraissait la *Revue de Bourgogne* il aura été fait sur lui quelque travail avec ces pièces. Voilà, mon cher Monsieur, sur quoi vous serez bien bon de me donner un petit mot de réponse. J'ai reçu dans le temps votre lettre sur Buffon que j'ai jointe à mon dossier et qui, en cas de réimpression, pourra fournir matière à une note.

Agréez, je vous prie, l'expression de mes anciens sentimens affectionnés et dévoués,

Ste Beuve

11 rue Mont-Parnasse

## VII

TH. FOISSET À SAINTE-BEUVÉ

Dijon, 20 janvier 54

Monsieur,

Ceci n'est point encore une réponse, c'est un remerciement bien court, mais bien senti (faites-moi l'honneur de le croire); de ce que vous avez bien voulu penser à moi à l'occasion du président Jeannin. J'en suis plus touché que je n'ose vous le dire.

Je ne crois pas qu'il y ait rien à la bibliothèque de la ville.

Dans les *Deux Bourgognes*, il y a eu un travail de mon frère aîné, œuvre posthume écrite à l'âge de vingt ans pour l'Académie de Mâcon. M. Michaud (des *Croisades*) n'a pas jugé ce morceau indigne d'être réimprimé dans sa collection, en tête des Mémoires de Jeannin, si je ne me trompe. Je vais le relire à votre intention et je vous en rendrai bon compte.<sup>20</sup>

J'espère aussi pouvoir vous dire des choses qui ne sont point partout sur le Président considéré comme Bourguignon.

Pardon si je ne vous fais aujourd'hui que des promesses. Je suis enseveli depuis six jours dans la métaphysique, ayant à rendre compte, dans le Correspondant du 25 de ce mois, d'un très bel ouvrage du P. Gratry.<sup>21</sup> Je n'en vais pas moins au Palais, comme c'est mon devoir (aujourd'hui, par exemple, je suis de l'audience solennelle).

Mais, dès demain, j'irai à la Bibliothèque et lundi j'espère vous écrire une vraie lettre.

En attendant, on ne saurait être plus sympathiquement à vous que votre humble serviteur.

Foisset

Je vois par votre adresse que vous êtes où je vous ai vu en 1828.

20. Louis-Séverin Foisset (1796-1822) écrivit à l'âge de 23 ans la notice sur Jeannin publiée en 1836 dans la *Revue des Deux Bourgognes*; malgré le style fleuri du jeune homme, Michaud l'imprima en effet en tête de son édition des "Négociations" de Jeannin.

21. Le R. P. Alphonse-J.-A. Gratry, oratorien (1805-1872) devint professeur de morale évangélique à la Faculté de Théologie de Paris en 1867; il travailla à réhabiliter le Thomisme. Il s'agit ici du livre *De la connaissance de Dieu* (2 vols. in-8°, 1853), première partie d'un cours de philosophie suivie par la *Logique* (2 vol. in-8°, 1855) et *De la Connaissance de l'âme* (2 vol. in-8°, 1857).

## VIII

TH. FOISSET À SAINTE-BEUVRE

[Entre le 20 et le 26 janvier 1854]

Cher Monsieur,

La Bibliothèque de Dijon n'a décidément rien sur le Président Jeannin.

J'ai déterré dans une bibliothèque privée son éloge par Claude Thiroux, maire d'Autun, imprimé à la suite des *Recherches et Mémoires servans [sic] à l'Histoire de l'ancienne ville et cité d'Autun* par feu Jean Munier (Dijon 1660) in-4<sup>e</sup> page 66 du supplément.—il n'y a pas grand'chose dans cet écrit; j'en extrairai pourtant un trait ou deux.<sup>22</sup>

Ce que je n'ai pu trouver nulle part c'est l'*Eloge* "de la vie du très-illustre seigneur Messier Pierre Janin, baron de Montjoie, Chagny et Dracy, Président de Bourgogne et Surintendant des Finances de France" (par Pierre de Saumaise seigneur de Chasans; qui avait accompagné le Président Jeannin en Hollande de 1607 à 1610)—Dijon, 1623, in-8<sup>e</sup> de 14 pages. J'emprunte ces indications à Papillon, *Bibliothèque des auteurs de Bourgogne*, tome 2, p. 289. Pierre de Saumaise était cousin du grand érudit Claude de Saumaise. Il n'était pas sans mérite comme magistrat et, quoiqu'il était attaché à la mission du Président en Hollande, son témoignage en ce qui touche ce grand homme ne saurait être sans valeur. L'*Eloge* en question a été publié l'année d'après la mort de Jeannin; c'est donc un témoignage contemporain. Pierre de Saumaise était alors conseiller au parlement de Dijon, où il a dû se trouver avec d'anciens collègues du Président.<sup>23</sup>

Papillon renvoie en outre aux *Mémoires de Villeroy*, tome I, pages 171 et 266 et à ceux d'Arnauld d'Andilly, page 114. Vous n'ignorez pas qu'il existe une lettre de Jeannin à la Reine (25 janv. 1622) pour accuser d'Andilly de vouloir supplanter Pierre de Castille, son gendre.

Cela dit, je vous demande la permission de vous adresser quelques notes, à titre de matériaux et de renseignements.

Pierre Jeannin, né en 1540, était fils d'un tanneur d'Autun, qui devint échevin de cette ville, comme le constate son épigraphe, encore lisible au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle; *homme de très-grande vertu et de très grand sens*.

Il fit son droit à Bourges sous Cujas, dont il fut l'un des élèves favoris, bien

22. Le "supplément" précède les trois autres parties et s'intitule *Eloges des hommes illustres de la Ville d'Autun*.

23. L'ouvrage, signé P.S., existe à la Bibliothèque Nationale: *Eloge / Sur la vie / de Tres-illustre / Seigneur / Messire Pierre Janin / Baron de Monjeu, Chagny / et Dracy, Conseiller du Roy / en ses conseils, President au / Parlement de Bourgogne, / et Surintendant des Finances / de France. A la Postérité / A Dijon, / de l'Imprimé de Claude Guyot, / Imprimeur ordinaire du Roy. / cit. 10c. xxiii / 54 pages. P. de Saumaise, frère d'un Claude de Saumaise, de l'Oratoire, a connu des collègues de l'ancien président, parmi lesquels était son père. Saumaise appelle Jeannin—homme juste, sage, savant, courageux, bénissant, libéral, officieux, et d'une incroyable humilité. Saumaise l'accompagna en Hollande et parle du vieillard en termes d'admiration pour avoir entrepris cette mission malgré le mauvais état de ses affaires domestiques et de sa santé.*

que je n'ajoute qu'une foi médiocre à certaine anecdote ramassée par Philibert de la Mare, né en 1615 et plus ou moins suspecte d'ailleurs.<sup>24</sup>

Reçu avocat en 1569, il s'établit à Dijon, où ses débuts furent pleins d'éclat. Il n'est pas indifférent de voir quel caractère Charles Févret, né en 1583 assigne à l'éloquence de Jeannin. (*De Claris Fori Burgundici oratoribus*, p. 32.)

“[...] grandius aliquid, magnificentiusque intonuerat, quam suæ anteactæ Ætatis Oratores: sublime illius, erectumque ingenium, pulchritudinem, speciemque excelsæ cuiusdam magnœque gloriæ ardentius spirare videbatur [...]”

“Ubi igitur se ad caussas forenses, popularesque traduxit, cunctos suauitatem, copia, dicendique grauitate superauit; ubertate illius æguales, vim ac robur plane Oratorium prouectiores demirati sunt. Oratio eius grauis, vehemens, incitata, actua, sed suavis: placebatque in Homine spiritus elati, attemperata vultus quœdam, orisque Majestas. [...] Qui teretes aures habuerunt, intelligensque iudicium, delectati sunt genere illo dicendi, diserto, & per omnes disceptationis cōtrouersiæque locos alacriter peraudente. Nemo illo urbanitate, ac suauitate conditor, nemo etiam mouendis affectibus, mentibusque impellen-dis, aut quo vellet flectendis neruosior: vnde dubium nulli fuit PETRUM JEANNINUM si ætatem ac studium, Foro ornandæque facultati: Oratoriaæ im-pendisset, priscorum gloriam potuisse [...]”<sup>25</sup>

Je fais en tout cela une large part au cicéronianisme de Févret; mais enfin cet avocat dijonnais avait 39 ans quand le Président Jeannin est mort; il avait conversé avec des témoins des débuts oratoires de cet homme illustre, et ce n'est point au hasard qu'il insiste sur l'*agrément* de sa diction et de son érudition, exempte de recherches au reste (non *recondita*), rare mérite au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle! il y a là tout à la fois un grand et *un bon* esprit, quelque chose d'élévé, d'animé, de vigoureux et de *persuasif* tout ensemble qui pouvait faire pressentir dans les triomphes de l'avocat les succès futurs du négociateur.

Quoiqu'il en soit, il faut certes que dans ces débuts du Palais, la supériorité de Jeannin, la sûreté de son jugement surtout, ait éclaté d'une façon extraordinaire pour que, deux ans à peine après, en 1571, il fût choisi par les Elus des Etats de Bourgogne pour être du Conseil de la Province. [Palliot] *Parlement de Bourgogne*, p. 82. Les Elus étaient une commission de cinq membres qui représentaient les Etats dans l'intervalle des sessions et qui dirigeaient l'assiette des impôts, les travaux publics et presque toute l'administration du pays. Jeannin se trouvait donc à 31 ans le jurisconsulte officiel de la Province.

C'est à ce titre qu'il fut appelé par Eléomir Chabot, comte de Charny, grand écuyer de France et lieutenant général pour le Roi au gouvernement de la Bourgogne, à un conseil secret tenu par ce Seigneur le surlendemain de la St. Barthélemy. Deux gentilhommes des plus qualifiés de la Province, Pierre de Comarin et Bernard de S. Riran étaient arrivés de Paris coup sur coup, à quatre

24. Il s'agit d'une anecdote racontée par le Conseiller de la Mare dans le Recueil [manuscrit] pour la *Vie de Cujas*, cité par Papillon, 1, 336. Sainte-Beuve l'a reprise dans son article du Lundi, 8 mai 1854.

25. Charles Févret, *De Claris Fori Burgundici oratoribus dialogus . . . auctore Carolo Fevreto . . . Divione, P. Palliot, 1654, In-8°, p. 35.*

à cinq heures de distance l'un de l'autre, porteurs de deux lettres autographes de Charles IX qui ordonnait au Gouverneur d'avoir créance à ce qu'ils diraient de sa part. Tous deux affirmaient qu'ils avaient charge de faire à Dijon et dans toute la Bourgogne ce qui venait d'être fait à Paris. Il faut voir dans le *Discours apologétique fait par M. le Prés. Jeannin de sa conduite devant les troubles de la Ligue* (discours imprimé à la suite des *Négociations*, comme vous savez) l'honneur qu'il eut d'empêcher ce massacre.<sup>26</sup>

C'est encore à cette qualité de conseil de la province de Bourgogne que Jeannin dut ses relations avec le duc de Mayenne, nommé Gouverneur de Bourgogne à la mort de son frère Claude de Lorraine, duc d'Aumale, tué au siège de la Rochelle en 1593.

Jeannin obtint toute la confiance de Mayenne et devint l'âme de son conseil ce qui, joint au zèle du Président pour la Religion, l'entraîna dans la Ligue, on sait le reste.

Vous n'avez pas besoin du tout du détail que voici; mais je vous le donne pour ma satisfaction de faiseur de notes. Jeannin fut pourvu de la charge de Gouverneur de la Chancellerie de Bourgogne (nom très-pompeux d'une fort petite chose) le 19 juillet 1575; vous savez combien il se loua à ce propos des bontés d'Henri III.—il fut député du Tiers aux Etats de Blois en 1576, et en cette qualité il fut l'orateur-né du Tiers-Etat du Royaume, la Bourgogne (comme premier duché-pairie de France) ayant la préséance sur toutes les autres provinces. On voit dans le *Discours apologétique* comment, par la trahison du collègue en députation de Jeannin, la guerre civile et la Ligue sortirent de ces Etats en 1576. A la requête des Etats de Bourgogne, Jeannin fut pourvu d'un office de conseiller au Parlement de Dijon, office créé tout exprès le . . . [sic] juin 1579 et "il y fut reçu, à condition de ne pouvoir resigner son office qu'après cinq années d'exercice", tant la cour du Parlement appréhendait de perdre un si rare esprit (Palliot, dans l'ouvrage paru en 1649). Henri III créea bientôt pour Jeannin une charge de président au même Parlement et il y fut reçu *sans aucune finance* le 14 mars 1581. (Palliot *ibidem*.) Le *Discours apologétique* donne d'autres dates; mais Jeannin avait 82 ans lorsqu'il écrivit cette pièce et sa mémoire est ici en défaut. Palliot, qui avait sous les yeux les registres du Parlement, a toute autorité quant aux dates.—Jeannin fut longtemps le second président du Parlement et il ne résigna cette charge qu'en 1602, époque à laquelle Henri IV le fit intendant des Finances (je ne dis pas surintendant)—Palliot, page 57.—il n'a jamais été premier président, il a seulement eu 20.000 écus *pour ne pas l'être*. (Disc. apolog.)

Il reste dans des Mémoires manuscrits, qui se conservent à Dijon dans les bibliothèques privées, quelques mots du rôle joué par le Président durant la Ligue; mais il n'y a rien qui soit digne de vous être signalé.

Le Président Jeannin fut l'homme d'état de la Ligue. Mais, sous ce rapport, sa biographie est encore à faire. Mon frère, à cet égard, ne fait que grouper les traits les plus saillants et les plus connus de cette portion de la vie du Président: ses efforts pour retenir Mayenne avant 1588; ses négociations en Espagne, où

26. Ed. de Fontaine et du Ch<sup>r</sup> Jeannin, Paris, Petit et Boucher, 1819, III, 617.

il pénétra les vues intéressées de Philippe II; la part qu'il eut au coup frappé sur les Seize; son heureuse intervention pour empêcher Marseille de se donner au duc de Savoie; les services qu'il rendit en traversant les menées espagnoles durant les lutes [sic] de la Ligue en 1593; ce qu'il fit pour réconcilier Mayenne avec Henri IV. Il reste à dégager bien des inconnus, et c'est la meilleure part de votre tâche, ou je me trompe fort.

Il y aurait beaucoup à dire aussi sur Jeannin, ministre de Henri IV et sur le juste milieu suivi par ce prince contre les catholiques, représentés dans son conseil par leurs hommes politiques (Jeannin et Villeroi) et leurs adversaires personnifiés en Sully. Vous nous apprendrez là-dessus bien des choses.

Pour moi, je n'ai pas la prétention de vous avoir appris quoi que ce soit. Je me suis laissé aller au plaisir de causer devant vous d'un compatriote que j'honneure et que je vous devrais de mieux connaître.

Je ne sais pas grand'chose de l'homme privé.

Jeannin plaida sa première cause le 30 janvier 1570. L'anecdote du riche bourgeois qui vient, immédiatement après, lui offrir la main de sa fille, ne m'inspire qu'une demi-confiance. Je doute encore plus qu'il ait demandé dix-neuf femmes en mariage avant d'être agréé d'Anne Gueniot, fille d'un médecin de Semur-en-Auxois, qui lui survécut et de laquelle il eut du bien. Leur mariage est du 18 mars 1570 (six semaines après la fameuse plaidoirie pour Autun contre Beaune).

Leur fils unique fut malheureusement assassiné dans un combat "de nuit" où il rendit avec la vie des preuves de son courage (Thiroux). J'ai peine à croire que son père ait présidé le conseil le jour même.

La statue de Jeannin et celle de sa femme subsistent sur leur tombeau dans la cathédrale d'Autun. On lit dans l'épitaphe d'Anne Gueniot: *quæ Matrona fuit pietate et charitate in Pauperes insignis, integræ vitæ, sine fuso aut pompa, viri sui amans; domus et Cœnomiæ suæ intelligens [ . . . ].*<sup>27</sup> Ce portrait doit être ressemblant.

Jeannin possédait trois terres: Montjoie près d'Autun, Chagny et Dracy. J'ai visité le château de Montjoie qu'il avait bâti avec une magnificence dont il s'amuse quelque peu et qui appartient aujourd'hui à M. de Talleyrand, du chef de Melle Lepelletier de Morfontaine, sa femme. On ne saurait imaginer une demeure plus négligée que celle-là. Il y a des salles remplies de portraits des illustres du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, français, italiens, espagnols. Ne me demandez pas combien ils ont souffert, mais reconnaissiez avec moi que c'était là un luxe digne d'un ministre de Marie de Médicis.

Je n'ai aucune particularité sur le goût de Jeannin pour les lettres. Je m'en réfère à ce qu'en dit son frère et à l'estime que professavaient à cet égard pour lui le Président Scaliger et Barneveldt (voir l'éloge mis en tête des Négociations par l'abbé de Castille, son petit-fils.).

Et à Dieu! cher Monsieur, je vous demande mille fois pardon du retard de cette lettre. Ah! si la bonne volonté suffisait!

Foisset

27. L'épitaphe est citée par Papillon, 1, 338.

## IX

SAINTE-BEUVE À TH. FOISSET

Paris, 26 janv. 1854

Cher Monsieur,

Je reçois votre seconde et très-abondante lettre, qui contient bien des choses quoique vous disiez. Je n'ai pas osé me lancer dès cette semaine sur le Président Jeannin avant d'avoir toutes mes provisions; mais je vais maintenant m'y diriger pour un temps prochain. Que de choses il y aurait à faire! Que de sujets et de personnages à approfondir en littérature et en histoire! C'est un des mérites peut-être de ces temps-ci de s'appliquer: mais de tous ces travaux épars résultera-t-il jamais un corps qui les résume? Enfin, travaillons chacun dans notre direction, fouillons et faisons notre tâche en sachant bien que l'homme ne fait jamais rien de complet et que ce qu'on appelle même des monuments ne contient que des vestiges et des débris.

Je suis, en effet, logé dans une petite maison qui était à ma mère et où je crois bien avoir eu le plaisir de vous voir il y a bien longtemps. Si jamais vous veniez à Paris (ce que vous devez faire quelquefois), soyez assez bon pour me jeter un petit *mot à la poste* en m'indiquant *votre adresse* et à l'instant je m'arrangerai pour me donner le plaisir de causer quelques instants avec vous: vivant d'ailleurs en homme tout à fait retiré et en ermite.

Agreez, cher Monsieur, l'expression de mes sentimens reconnaissans et dévoués,

Ste. Beuve

## X

TH. FOISSET À SAINTE-BEUVE

16 avril 54, Dijon

Monsieur,

Si je ne vous disais tout d'abord combien j'ai été sensible à ce que vous avez bien voulu dire de moi lundi dernier, je me ferais moins homme que je ne le suis. Et pourtant je serai tenté de vouloir que vous n'eussiez point parlé de votre serviteur pour pouvoir vous dire à mon aise combien je suis ravi de cette grande et suprême appréciation de Buffon.

A chaque mot, je m'écrivais: c'est bien cela!

Rien n'est plus curieux en effet que de "noter l'endroit certain où Buffon devient complètement naturaliste, de physicien qu'il était en commençant."

Rien n'est plus curieux, dis-je, si ce n'est pourtant la détermination précise du point par lequel Buffon tient au 18ème siècle et des points plus nombreux par où il s'en sépare et s'en isole même. Le contraste entre Buffon et Voltaire "qui se répète sauf variations chaque matin et qui ne fait pas mieux à 60 ans qu'à 30"—entre Buffon et Montesquieu "qui se fatigue à la fin et se brise sensiblement"—entre Buffon et Diderot "cette tête fumeuse" est saisi et mis

en relief de main de maître. "Buffon va *jusqu'au bout* d'un pas grave et soutenu en s'élevant."

L'autre grand contraste entre Buffon et Linné est plus saisissant encore: les deux génies, les deux hommes sont parlant dans vos portraits.

Et quel gré ne vous sais-je pas de réhabiliter Buffon comme naturaliste! il y a vingt ans que je demande un travail comme celui de M. Flourens; mais combien d'hommes, sans vous, eussent ignoré comme moi cette justice tardive rendue à la partie scientifique de l'*Histoire Naturelle*. Cuvier lui-même était loin d'avoir tout dit à cet égard. Venu au moment de la réaction des esprits positifs et microscopiques contre l'éloquent écrivain, Cuvier leur était trop supérieur pour ne voir dans Buffon qu'un faiseur de phrases. Mais, alors, on était surtout frappé des lacunes scientifiques du Pline français; on prenait le parti de Daubenton contre lui. Aujourd'hui la postérité paraît décidément venue pour l'un et pour l'autre, et le lot de Buffon, à la distance où nous sommes de ce passé, reprend sa grandeur.

Je n'en dis pas moins après vous: "admirons Buffon, ne l'inventons pas." M. Isidore Geoffroy St Hilaire sera moins content que moi de votre causerie du lundi; mais il n'a que ce qu'il mérite.

Permettez-moi d'en dire autant de M. Henri Martin, l'historien (j'ai toujours été un peu scandalisé du prix accordé par l'Académie à son livre si peu original, pardon de cette parenthèse).

Enfin je souriais, non sans tristesse, à votre dernier mot sur le grand homme: "A part quelques mots de pure forme et de déférence, l'idée seule de la nature est ce qui règne chez Buffon, il y manque le rayon, l'humble désir qui appelle la bénédiction d'en haut."

Mais n'y a-t-il pas là une induction à tirer contre le cœur de Buffon? Je ne dis pas que cette induction soit péremptoire, mais elle a de la force. M. de Chateaubriand a remarqué qu'il a omis le *chien de l'aveugle*.

Les lettres dont je vous ai parlé ne m'appartiennent point; je ne puis les publier, même par extraits. Elles sont non seulement ordinaires, mais vulgaires. La noblesse manque, je n'en dis pas seulement celle du langage, mais celle des sentiments. Je ne dirai point que l'homme est bas, mais il est *commun*. Telle est du moins l'impression qui m'est restée de cette correspondance lue il y a dix-huit ans.

Et à Dieu! A quand le Président Jeannin? En attendant, on ne saurait être plus à vous que je ne le suis.

Foisset

## XI

TH. FOISSET À SAINTE-BEUVRE

Dijon 11 mai, 54

Vous voulez bien que je vous remercie encore, et surtout de la mention que vous avez faite de mon frère. J'en suis vivement touché.

Dijon attend le second article. Deux pièces ne vous auront pas échappé dans les négociations du Président; ce sont deux instances faites auprès des Etats des Provinces Unies pour obtenir aux Catholiques, l'exercice public de leur Religion. Jeannin échoua, et pourtant il traitait avec Barneveldt! Et les Catholiques du Haut Brabant s'étaient loyalement battus pour l'indépendance de leur pays; ils avaient donné leur sang pour constituer la suprématie de leurs frères Protestants! Ce qui s'est passé en dernier lieu dans les Pays Bas, à propos du rétablissement de la hiérarchie catholique, m'a fait souvenir de cette inutile tentative du ministre de Henri IV pour que ses coreligionnaires eussent en Hollande un diminutif de l'édit de Nantes.

A Dieu! Monsieur. Je voudrais faire inscrire quelque part en lettres d'or ce que vous dites des hommes de conseil, et je demeure votre fort-obligé serviteur et fort affectionné ami.

Foisset

## XII

TH. FOISSET À SAINTE-BEUVRE

[15 juillet 1855]

Monsieur,

On me dit que vous êtes à la campagne, mais je ne puis quitter Paris sans vous remercier mille fois. Vous avez voulu que je tinsse de vous ce charmant petit volume, avec une addition autographe d'un prix infini. Faites-moi l'honneur de croire que vous ne l'avez pas donné à un ingrat, ni à un contempteur des bonnes lettres. Combien je vous sais gré d'avoir si ingénieusement, si victorieusement protesté contre les *mauvais gestes* d'un certain style et contre "les paroles plus grandes que les choses"! On ne saurait être plus entièrement avec vous sur ce point (et sur toute votre Préface) que le plus reconnaissant de vos serviteurs.

Foisset

15 juillet 1855<sup>28</sup>

## XIII

SAINTE-BEUVRE À TH. FOISSET

Ce 15 juillet dimanche [1855]

Cher Monsieur,

Je reçois de vous un aimable mot d'adieu, en arrivant. Je comptais essayer de vous voir dans la journée.—il me semble que j'avais à vous parler encore de plusieurs choses.

28. Cette lettre porte la note suivante, de la main de Sainte-Beuve: "Lettre de Foisset sur l'article Préface La Rochefoucauld. (Edit. Sansot.)"

Je vous serais bien obligé, comme cet exemplaire du *La Rochefoucauld* a subi quelques corrections manuscrites ou du moins une petite *addition*, de vouloir prendre la peine de m'envoyer copie pour que cela me serve en cas de réimpression.—Voudriez-vous aussi me dire si selon vous, les documents inédits que Dijon possède sur le célèbre et trop célèbre Bourguignon, Piron, mériteraient en effet, qu'on y revînt dans un travail spécial, ou bien s'il ne vaut pas mieux laisser ce nom auquel se rattachent des idées peu honnêtes, aller au hasard de la destinée.

Agréez, cher Monsieur, l'expression de mes sentimens dévoués.

Ste. Beuve

#### XIV

TH. FOISSET À SAINTE-BEUVRE

[1855?]

Cher Monsieur,

Voici la petite addition dont vous me demandez la copie. Je suis un peu confus de vous avoir dérobé l'autographe; mais si vous saviez de quel prix cet exemplaire est pour moi!

Rien de pareil dans les documents inédits sur l'auteur de la *Métromanie*. Je suis de ceux qui croient fermement qu'on a calomnié sa muse et que la trop fameuse Priapée n'a pas eu de cœur: à cet égard, Piron vaut mieux que sa renommée et que les obscénités apocryphes imprimées sous son nom. Quoiqu'il en soit, il n'y a pas un intérêt littéraire de premier ordre à ramener l'attention publique sur Piron et je n'oserais insister pour qu'on revînt sur lui dans un travail spécial.

Et à Dieu encore! Je suis bien heureux d'avoir pu un moment vous serrer la main, bien que j'emporte le regret de n'avoir pu vous revoir.

Foisset<sup>29</sup>

CARGILL SPRIETSMA

*Brooklyn College*

29. Note de la main de Sainte-Beuve: "Lettre de M. Foisset que j'ai interrogé sur Piron et sur les documents qui sont à Dijon."

La correspondance entre Sainte-Beuve et Foisset s'achève sur cette note amicale en 1855. Le premier article sur Jeannin contient un éloge des hommes de conseil, éloge qui n'a pas échappé au magistrat qui voudrait la "faire inscrire quelque part en lettres d'or"; en mai 1854, Foisset est de Sainte-Beuve le "fort-obligé serviteur et fort affectionné ami." Au mois de juillet de l'année suivante, Sainte-Beuve donne au magistrat dijonnais, qui se trouve à Paris, un exemplaire de l'édition de *La Rochefoucauld* récemment publiée avec une préface de Sainte-Beuve; exemplaire unique puisqu'il contient une addition de la main de l'auteur. Le quinze juillet, Foisset se rend chez Sainte-Beuve pour lui dire adieu; le critique est absent. Dans sa lettre de cette même date, l'auteur des *Lundis* lui exprime son regret d'avoir manqué sa visite et demande au Bourguignon des renseignements sur un autre compatriote, Piron, et de lui envoyer copie de l'addition autographe à l'édition de *La Rochefoucauld*. C'est ce qui permet de dater la dernière lettre de Foisset.

## GEORGE L. HAMILTON (1874-1940) A BIBLIOGRAPHY

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A GENERAL TRIBUTE to the professional and personal qualities of George Livingstone Hamilton, who died at Ithaca on September 25, 1940, has been written by Professor Kenneth McKenzie and published appropriately in *Italica* for December 1940. Hamilton received his Ph.D. at Columbia University in 1903 and was a frequent contributor to the *Romanic Review*; his first article in *RR* appeared in its first year (1910), and he was preparing another of his learned and distinguished reviews for this journal at the time of his death. He was long one of the official consultants of the Review. The editors publish herewith a list of the numerous and varied contributions to scholarship, in this journal and elsewhere, of their eminent colleague.

A close associate of Professor Hamilton writes of this record, and of our friend, as follows: "Hamilton was possessed of observant eye, retentive memory, and keen intellectual interest; he was a rich storehouse of accurate erudition touching medieval Western literature both in Latin and in the vernacular speeches. He had no ambition to make large syntheses of his own and it is notable that he wrote no books whatever subsequent to his doctoral dissertation. His reading and study were primarily done for his own enjoyment and for contributions he might make to the work of other scholars, whether through his published articles and reviews or man to man by letter or by word of mouth. Many are the scholars in various fields whose work has been enriched through his suggestions."

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## REVIEWS

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## REVIEWS

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*La Petite Philosophie: An Anglo-Norman Poem of the Thirteenth Century.* By W. H. TRETHEWEY. Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1939. Pp. lxv+159.

Based principally on the twelfth-century *Imago Mundi*, *La Petite Philosophie* is an uninspired didactic poem of 2920 lines written in thirteenth-century Anglo-Norman. Paul Meyer called attention to the interest of the poem in 1879, and Professor W. H. Trethewey now makes available for the first time a complete, critical text. Presented as a dissertation at the University of Chicago, the study was revised under the guidance of leading Anglo-Norman scholars to serve as Volume 1 of the Anglo-Norman Text Society recently formed for the purpose of publishing the large body of unprinted Anglo-Norman material and furthering our knowledge of the dialect. The present volume sets a high standard.

The five MSS and two fragments extant are fully described as to contents and publication. The MS classification follows the familiar dichotomous pattern, with subdivisions remaining somewhat problematical—to judge by the conflicting testimony adduced. The editor posits one case of contamination. The choice of basic MS gave no hesitation. In principle, its reading is followed except (1) where opposed by common agreement of all others, (2) where the other family has the support of the Latin source, and (3) where error in the basic MS is clearly demonstrable. In practice, Mr. Trethewey occasionally sticks to his basic MS in spite of the fact that, according to his notes, other manuscripts give the "correct" version.

The procedure for inclusion and exclusion of variants is carefully explained; however, since all variants are not recorded, the reader is at a loss in studying doubtful passages, of which there are a considerable number as is likely to happen with texts in Anglo-Norman. The editor had to accept certain limitations for the sake of neatness, yet it is regrettable that line inclusions and exclusions are not listed with the variants given at the foot of the page.

The study of the language is an important contribution of this book. It has been done with thoroughness and complete awareness of such difficulties as inconsistency on the part of the poet, unreliable orthographical distinctions, and the lack as yet of a norm. Full account has been taken of previous Anglo-Norman editions and dialect studies. The versification has likewise been treated with care, but the complete study has been reserved for a later date. The text is not emended for metrical reasons as it is clear that the poet was in part responsible for the irregular octosyllabics, and it is the editor's conviction that the irregularities were deliberate. The assumption is that eventually it will be possible to define satisfactorily the guiding principles of Anglo-Norman versification.

Mr. Trethewey, relying on linguistic evidence as compared to that furnished

by a number of other Anglo-Norman texts, dates the poem as *ca.* 1230—a procedure that will gain in validity as more critical editions are forthcoming. Nothing definite is known about the author, and little light is gained by a study of the text. The body of the poem, which follows the Latin source closely, contains conventional conceptions about geography, cosmography, and natural science. Equally conventional and somewhat boring are the 166-line preamble on the importance of being learned and the 446-line epilogue—a dull sermon relieved only by a few lines of heresy promising for the chaste on earth mis-tresses in heaven. It is the editor's impression that the author was connected with the church, though not a member of a monastic order, and "acquainted with the more refined social life of his period."

The text, which has been prepared with critical caution, appears to follow the elaborately listed principles for text establishment. Notes are fairly numerous, affording a solution of most of the difficulties of interpretation. They supplement the language study and the selective glossary which, while it excludes words common in Old French, retains those which have characteristic Anglo-Norman forms or meaning, and hence tends to be inclusive.

The book contains many mechanical errors, and a number of the author's conclusions are not fully consistent with his excellent statements of principle. Some of these discrepancies may have occurred in the revision and condensation of the original thesis.

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*Renaissance Literary Theory and Practice: Classicism in the Rhetoric and Poetry of Italy, France, and England (1400-1600).* By CHARLES SEARS BALDWIN. Edited with Introduction by DONALD LEMEN CLARK. New York, Columbia University Press, 1939. Pp. xiv+251.

Cet ouvrage posthume du très regretté Ch. S. Baldwin achève la trilogie dont il avait publié *Ancient Rhetoric and Poetic* (1924) et *Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic* (1928). C'est un livre bref mais plein, original mais sûr. Il n'est pas complet, car l'auteur n'a pas voulu faire une histoire de la littérature de la Renaissance. Mais pour ce qu'il a voulu faire et qui était proprement une étude des habitudes littéraires de la Renaissance, son livre est achevé.

Baldwin a sévèrement limité sa recherche aux aspects littéraires de la période. Mais il a serré son objet sans le rétrécir et telles de ses idées ont une portée qui dépasse le domaine littéraire. Ainsi celle-ci: La Renaissance littéraire fut bien un nouveau jeu, un jour nouveau mais elle fut cela par la culmination d'un progrès littéraire médiéval: la montée graduelle des vernaculaires jusqu' au rang de la littérature. Le latin médiéval lui-même tendait au vernaculaire par sa liberté qui le prêtait à un usage vivant. Le latin des humanistes Renaissance, figé suivant la perfection antique, est en un sens une régression. Mais la Renaissance en "illustrant" les langues communes a con-

tinué l'implicite tendance médiévale. D'autre part, la survenue du grec aux côtés du latin est une conquête propre de la Renaissance. En permettant une consultation directe de la théorie et de la pratique grecques elle amènera indirectement à une exégèse plus attentive des théoriciens latins comme Cicéron et Quintilien. Mais le fruit sera très lent à venir. Ce n'est pas dans le champ du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle qu'on le cueillera. Au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle on en est encore en général resté à la confusion médiévale de la Poétique avec la Rhétorique. Aristote beaucoup cité est rarement compris.<sup>1</sup>

La grande préoccupation Renaissance est *le Style*. Le style a masqué *la Composition*. Les genres comme le discours, les lettres, les dialogues où la Renaissance a cru le mieux retrouver l'esprit de l'antiquité n'en rendent que la lettre, sauf les réussites exceptionnelles d'un Muret, d'un Erasme et d'un Castiglione. Mais Muret croit à ce qu'il dit,<sup>2</sup> Erasme écrit un latin vernaculaire à force de souplesse et de mordant et Castiglione tout en adoptant la forme du *De Oratore* de Cicéron y met une substance vivante, actuelle. A ce même Cicéron qui l'a tant servi l'humanisme Renaissance a payé une lourde rançon. Le Cicéronianisme, comme dit Baldwin, a poussé au perfectionnement, à l'idée qu'il existait un style idéal et rien qu'un. Et cela a poussé à de véritables réductions à l'absurde. Tel Sébastien Châteillon s'acharnant à récrire *l'Imitation de Jésus Christ* à l'imitation de Cicéron!

Pour la poésie lyrique c'est en France, dit Baldwin, que les stades de son évolution sont le plus distinctement marqués depuis *les Rhétoriqueurs* qui formalisent les modes du moyen âge, Jean Lemaire et Marot qui concilient variété et tradition jusqu'à la Pléiade qui rejette la tradition nationale pour l'Antiquité et qui avec Ronsard finit par imposer le sonnet. Cependant le sonnet en tant que séquence narrative est plus le fait d'un Sidney et d'un Shakespeare que d'un Ronsard. A propos de Ronsard notre érudit rappelle un fait qui vaut pour toute la Renaissance: Quand Ronsard après 1550 abandonne brusquement ses doctes expériences pindariques c'est de sa part volonté d'élargir son public. "Though 1550 was too early for what we now call a reading public, there was a widening circle, especially in the commercial cities, of readers who had some culture and desired more."

Au sujet de la Pastorale et de Sannazaro dont *l'Arcadia* en représente le type le plus complet, Baldwin a une de ses formules les plus heureuses: "Sannazaro succeeded at the Renaissance task of making literature out of literature." Combien cela est juste! même si on songe aux cas où la Renaissance s'est oubliée et a fait de la littérature avec la vie. Sannazaro dont l'étoffe est toute antique et qui s'arrange pourtant, on ne sait comment, pour donner à la trame une teinte originale est un exécutant Renaissance typique.

Cette "persistance avec changement" c'est encore le spectacle que nous

1. Baldwin signale avec faveur *La Retorica* (1555) de Bartolomeo Cavalcanti qui s'abstient de la confusion entre Rhétorique et Poétique et manifeste une intelligente interprétation des idées d'Aristote et de Quintilien.

2. En France, au début du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle Alain Chartier humaniste par Sénèque pratique dans son *Quadrilogue invectif* une éloquence personnelle, sentie et vraie.

donne le Roman Renaissance.<sup>3</sup> Mais ici il faudrait remplacer *antique* par *médiéval*: "Romance was rehearsed, translated, printed in its medieval forms; and it was shaped to a distinctive Renaissance pattern." Ceci est plus vrai d'un Boiardo que d'un Malory. Mais ces deux ont en commun le contraste romantique entre leur idéal et les réalités brutales de Ferrare et du Warwickshire.

Quant au théâtre de la Renaissance, la primauté du Style sur la composition et la surcharge oratoire et lyrique y frappent peut-être plus que dans aucun autre genre. Ce théâtre qui se voulait docte est resté immune aux tragiques grecs. Quand un Buchanan écrit sa *Jephthes* il a l'air de ne plus rien savoir d'Euripide que par ailleurs il a admirablement traduit. Garnier même ne touche que par le style au classicisme et fait de la littérature là où on attendrait du drame. Le germe de la tragédie classique était pourtant là mais enveloppé. Pour le faire éclore il faudra l'action combinée de la fantaisie romantique pastorale et du réalisme rustique à la Ruzzante; il faudra le discrédit de l'allégorisme, le succès des "histoires" et surtout la compréhension graduelle de la théorie antique, d'Aristote en particulier. En attendant, les *Poétiques* Renaissance de Marco Vida à Vauquelin (sans oublier Julius Caesar Scaliger lui-même) passent à côté du problème. Baldwin<sup>4</sup> expose le curieux malentendu Renaissance au sujet de l'Imitation: Par *Mimésis* Aristote entendait "imitation de la vue humaine" et composition d'un personnage suivant la vie. La Renaissance a affecté de comprendre imitation du style. Ce faux sens a pesé lourd ainsi que la sempiternelle confusion entre Poétique et Rhétorique.

Les deux derniers chapitres sur la prose narrative et les essais servent (un peu imparfaitement) de conclusion. On y remarquera une interprétation personnelle fort curieuse de l'œuvre de Rabelais. Baldwin y voit une satire des prétentions et de la *complacency* de la Renaissance. Dans Rabelais où il y a tout il y a probablement un peu de cela. Mais Baldwin nous paraît sous-estimer la ferveur et le positif du vieil Alcofribas.

En Montaigne Baldwin voit un anti-classique si on donne au mot "classique" son acceptation Renaissance: Montaigne qui, avec la Renaissance, dédaigne la composition ne se soucie pas davantage du Style que la Renaissance a tant cultivé. Avec Montaigne la Renaissance littéraire se juge, se condamne. Voilà une vue qu'on ne peut ignorer. C'est en effet le propre des grands libérateurs comme l'auteur des *Essais* de commencer par nous enlever nos illusions de liberté. Or la Renaissance était moins libre et moins neuve qu'elle ne le croyait.

Tel est ce livre dont Mr. D. L. Clark et la Columbia University Press ont fait hommage à une très digne mémoire. Nous n' avons pu rendre justice à la riche concision de ces pages. Mais nous espérons en avoir dit la haute valeur et la probe originalité.

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3. *Romance* dit l'anglais ici. Le français semble manquer d'un mot car *romance* en français désigne un genre tout petit et tout autre.

4. Ici la coopération de Mr. D. L. Clark, l'éditeur du volume, auteur lui-même de *Rhetoric and Poetry in the Renaissance* (1922) est évidente.

*Ronsard, Prince of Poets.* By MORRIS BISHOP. New York, Oxford University Press, 1940. Pp. 253.

Si l'on ne savait pas que M. Morris Bishop a déjà à son actif un important bagage littéraire, on serait tenté de voir dans son *Ronsard, Prince of Poets* un ouvrage de débutant. C'est dire que la lecture en est fort décevante et que ce livre n'ajoutera rien à la gloire du sujet ni à la réputation de l'auteur.

M. Bishop a commis deux péchés qui sont plus que des péchés véniaux: Il a commencé à écrire sans avoir suffisamment réfléchi à ce qu'il voulait faire. Il a, en second lieu, comme les élèves trop zélés les jours d'examen, succombé à la tentation de faire étalage de connaissances qui n'avaient rien à voir avec son sujet.

La conséquence de sa première erreur est que son *Ronsard* est un ouvrage bâtarde qui n'appartient à aucun genre connu. Ce n'est ni une biographie romancée, ni un essai sur le poète et son temps, ni un exposé où l'érudition prendrait le pas sur des agréments moins austères. Les premières pages de cette macédoine, consacrées à un accouchement, semblent annoncer un récit à la manière de ces messieurs de Médan, mais l'illusion dure peu; l'insertion de poèmes commence à la page 18. La biographie se développe, sèche, sans autre ornement qu'un style confit et trop chargé, puis, à la page 44, un dialogue nous replonge dans l'atmosphère romanesque que des digressions sur la poésie des rhétoriqueurs dissipent à la page 72, et ainsi de suite. On ne sait sur quel pied l'on danse et on se sent fort mal à l'aise.

Ce sentiment inconfortable se trouve aggravé du fait que M. Bishop, dans son désir de nous montrer tout ce qu'il sait, intercale dans son étude les éléments les plus hétéroclites, depuis des poèmes de Jean Marot et de Jean Goudeski jusqu'aux camps d'aviation américains, près de Tours, sans compter —comme grain de sel, sans doute—un peu d'argot: "In early September they continued to Rochester and Canterbury, where Mme de Montreuil refused to kiss the head of Saint Thomas à Becket. ('Ah ça, non, mais des fois! I hear her cry to the grinning mummy!'" (page 33). Si M. Bishop entend une dame du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle s'exprimer en ces termes c'est qu'il a l'oreille étrangement faite, mais bien fine, et je ne serais pas surpris s'il parvenait, un jour, à entendre des voix, comme Jeanne d'Arc.

Parfois, il tente de rattacher ses hors-d'œuvre par un lien tenu. Ainsi, pour être à même d'énumérer quelques-uns des jeux de Gargantua, il nous dit que Ronsard et ses frères: "played at the two hundred and twenty games which Rabelais lists" (page 15), ce qui me fait craindre qu'il ne donne une interprétation bien erronée au chapitre XXII de *Gargantua*. Il arrive que le lien soit encore plus lâche. Il n'était pas oiseux de mentionner les fêtes qui célébrèrent la prise de Calais, en 1558. Mais il était superflu de consacrer trois pages aux déboires qu'y connut Jodelle, pour arriver à cette conclusion: "Whether Ronsard laughed or wept at Jodelle's disaster is not recorded" (page 151). Que de temps perdu en babioles alors qu'il reste tant à dire encore sur la vie de Ronsard! Mais, cette vie, M. Bishop avait décidé à l'avance qu'elle serait belle et éthérée, il lui

fallait donc écarter ce qui, à mon avis, aurait dû être le cœur de son étude.

A quoi bon répéter en effet ce que tout le monde sait sur l'inflexible Casandre, l'énigmatique Marie et la trop jeune Hélène, au lieu de chercher à éclairer les points obscurs? M. Bishop reconnaît que Ronsard avait des ennemis qui l'accusaient "of atheism, of plagiarism, of avarice in the accumulation of church livings, of eating meat in Lent, of lewd life, of pederasty, of suffering from syphilis" (page 166); mais il ne songe pas examiner la part de vérité qu'il y avait sans doute dans ces accusations. Ce sont pour lui des calomnies de huguenots qui ne méritent pas plus d'un paragraphe. La sagesse des nations nous apprend cependant qu'il n'y a pas de fumée sans feu. Il aurait été intéressant d'étudier de près les pamphlets lancés contre Ronsard, de rapprocher des textes, par exemple la *Philippique contre les poetastres et rimbailleurs françois de nostre temps* de Jean Macer, *Le Temple de Ronsard où la légende de sa vie est brièvement décrite*, de rappeler les surnoms dont Amadis Jamyn se voyait couramment affublé. M. Bishop préfère simplifier la question en affirmant que "Ronsard's praise of fleshly love was similarly literary. The pleasures of sense could not possess him long" (page 107), ce qui ne l'empêche pas de l'appeler plus loin "a soldier of Venus." Ce devait être alors un de ces bien mauvais soldats qui flanchent à l'heure de la bataille, à moins que, pour M. Bishop, Vénus ne soit la déesse de l'amour platonique.

En tout cas, le Prince des Poètes avait pour les désordres d'Henri III et de sa cour une complaisance qui, pour le moins, dénote une grande largeur d'esprit. Ce n'est qu'exceptionnellement qu'il y fait allusion. M. Bishop n'est pas si indulgent. Il règle en cinq sec le compte du dernier des Valois. "He was a bad king," répète-t-il à deux reprises dans la même page (page 228). Il trouve que sa vie fut grotesque et que sa mort même fut comique parce qu'il fut assassiné sur sa chaise percée. Or, il n'y a rien de comique à cela. La chaise percée ne servait pas uniquement à ce que M. Bishop semble croire. Jusqu'à Louis XV, c'était le siège sur lequel les rois de France accordaient leurs audiences. En quoi donc est-il plus comique d'être tué sur une chaise percée que sur un canapé, un pouf ou une bergère? Il est certain que la morale d'Henri III laissait à désirer, mais ses récents biographes ont prouvé que c'était un habile politique et un roi qui, pour citer Philippe Erlanger: "eut la gloire de sacrifier sa popularité, sa réputation, ses croyances et enfin sa vie pour transmettre intact l'héritage des Capétiens à l'homme le plus digne de le recueillir."<sup>1</sup> Agrippa d'Aubigné, qui pourtant ne fut pas tendre pour les mœurs de son roi dans les *Tragiques* et dans la *Confession de Sancy*, n'avait-il pas déjà écrit dans son *Histoire Universelle*: "Voilà la fin de Henri troisième, Prince d'agréable conversation avec les siens, amateur des lettres, libéral par delà tous les rois, courageux en jeunesse et lors désiré de tous; en vicillesse aimé de peu: qui avait de grandes parties de Roi, souhaité pour l'être avant qu'il le fût et digne du Royaume s'il n'eût point régné. C'est ce qu'en peut dire un bon Français"?

1. *Henri III*, Paris, Gallimard, 1935, p. 248.

Dans son jugement sur Henri III, M. Bishop a eu le tort de présenter une opinion toute personnelle comme universellement acceptée. Il a commis la même erreur à deux autres reprises:

Il nous parle des compositeurs qui mettaient en musique les poèmes de Ronsard, et il ajoute: "When, in our time, a musical antiquarian had their music publicly chanted, it was found that the skillful polyphony masked and muffled Ronsard's words, without adding a beauty agreeable to the modern ear" (page 97). Que dirait Nadia Boulanger en entendant un tel blasphème, et qu'aurait dit notre grand Ravel? M. Bishop aurait dû écrire "to my ear," car je puis lui assurer que toute oreille sensible à la bonne musique préfère de beaucoup entendre chanter *Mignonne, allons voir si la rose* dans la version de Guillaume Costeley que de l'entendre réciter, si suave que puisse être la voix.

C'est une généralisation non moins fâcheuse qui lui fait écrire à propos des *Folastries*: "Modern times sternly reprobate them, while frequently reprinting them" (page 103). Mais, pas du tout! Les temps modernes ne sont pas si bégueules, Dieu merci! Je crains bien que M. Bishop (tout en admettant que ces poèmes galants sont "excellent of their abject sort") n'ait pas su voir tout l'art qu'ils révèlent, car il semble vouloir les assimiler, avec les poésies gai-lardes de Marot et de Saint Gelais, aux anecdotes crapuleuses qu'il a trouvées dans *Le Compartiment des hommes seuls* et les *Histoires de commis-voyageurs* (page 103). J'avoue n'avoir jamais ouvert ces deux petits ouvrages, mais je suis bien certain de n'y point rencontrer de pièces comparables aux deux sonnets des sexes dont l'authenticité a été établie par M. Paul Laumonier. Au risque de me faire honnir, j'ose affirmer que, dans ces deux "blasons" très osés, Ronsard se montre plus grand poète, et beaucoup plus original, que dans *Mignonne* ou dans *Comme on voit, sur la branche . . .* (poésies charmantes, mais faites des lieux communs les plus usés). Comparer l'œuvre érotique des poètes du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle aux brochures graveleuses des bibliothèques de gare, c'est dire que les gravures galantes de Fragonard ressemblent aux couvertures de la *Vie Parisienne*. Ce sont des confusions pour le moins regrettables.

Reste la question des poèmes que M. Bishop a massacrés, évidemment sans le moindre remords, pour en faire des versions anglaises. Je n'en donnerai qu'un exemple: Les beaux vers suivants (le deuxième avec ses admirables allitérations):

*Je n'ai plus que les os, un squelette je semble,  
Décharné, dénervé, démusclé, dépulpé,  
Que le trait de la mort sans pardon a frappé;  
Je n'ose voir mes bras que de peur je ne tremble*

deviennent sous sa plume:

I am no more than bones, a skeleton  
Which the thin crust of flesh does not disguise.  
In my arm's gauntness I can recognize  
Death's dispositions, grim to look upon.

Il me semble donc difficile de voir dans l'ouvrage de M. Bishop autre chose qu'une de ces bonnes intentions dont l'*Enfer*, paraît-il, est pavé. Loin d'en sortir grandi, Ronsard y pétrarquise, doucereux et émasculé, en parfaite harmonie, du reste, avec la couverture du volume, rose et grise comme un clair de lune verlainien.

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*El Criticón*. Por BALTASAR GRACIÁN. Edición crítica y comentada por M. ROMERA-NAVARRO. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press; Vol. II, 1939, pp. 383; Vol. III, 1940, pp. 508.

When the initial volume of this monumental edition appeared in 1938, critics acclaimed it as an extraordinary contribution to Spanish scholarship. Now that the work is complete,<sup>1</sup> there is all the more reason to applaud Professor Romera-Navarro's achievement. It constitutes an impressive example of devotion to a difficult undertaking.

In reproducing the *Criticón* the editor has carefully utilized several versions printed in the seventeenth century, eliminating faults, indicating variants and standardizing orthography and punctuation. His chief accomplishment, however, lies in the compilation of more than seven thousand notes which accompany the text. These embrace almost every conceivable commentary on language, customs, history and literature. The enormous amount of information thus assembled reflects a wide search for comparative illustrations.

New readers should be attracted to Gracián's masterpiece in its latest presentation, and those already familiar with the work will find profit in reviewing it under the lavish illumination here provided. No serious student of any aspect of Spanish civilization can afford to ignore the references which are conveniently indexed at the end of the third volume.

With Professor Romera-Navarro's edition of the *Criticón* and Sr. Rodríguez Marín's edition of the *Quijote* we now have at least two of the greatest seventeenth-century prose works in Spanish adequately annotated. While this is a source of satisfaction, it is to be deplored that similar attention has not yet been given to other authors such as Alemán and Quevedo, who did so much to shape the contemporary literature of Europe. Until all of the most influential writers have been studied extensively, we cannot hope that Spain's contribution will be appreciated fully. Though the progress made thus far has been woefully retarded, the task should be accelerated by the increasing ranks of specialists with the inspiration of the two splendid models already at hand.

One thing might well be kept in mind by future editors. It is the danger of overemphasizing a single work or a single author as an isolated unit in the complex pattern of thought that characterized the times. Usually textual ob-

1. One reviewer of the first volume inadvertently referred to the *Criticón* as consisting of four parts; cf. *RR*, xxx (1939), 421.

scurities and literary antecedents take preponderance in the commentaries. Perhaps this should be so, but the practice need not exclude consideration of effects on subsequent writings. One of the most convincing tributes to the merits of an author is evidence of the impression which he made on his followers.

In his summary introduction (Volume 1) Professor Romera-Navarro included a chapter entitled "Evolución de la crítica" which contains an appraisal of what has been written heretofore about Gracián. Another chapter, "Influjos literarios," is confined to a discussion of the sources of the *Criticón*. Yet one looks in vain for references to imitations of this great satirical and allegorical novel. The dearth of such related material may be attributed to the fact that the bulk of Spanish prose fiction of the seventeenth century is too little known. When the field is thoroughly explored we may expect further revelations regarding influences.

It is surprising to discover how often a very obscure work communicated ideas expressed in contemporary masterpieces. Some striking resemblances to the *Criticón* are to be found in *El león prodigioso* by Cosme Gómez Texada de los Reyes (Madrid, 1636). A so-called continuation waited thirty years to appear in print, although it had probably been composed much earlier. Possibly there may be no direct relationship between its author and Gracián, but I am reluctant to believe that so many parallels in concept could be entirely fortuitous.

In his *Para sí* (Zaragoza, 1661) Juan Fernández y Peralta included various reminiscences of the *Criticón*. He even quotes Gracián, referring to him as "el crítico Marlones," and refutes a criticism of his obscure style.

Miguel de Barrios quotes from a "discurso académico" by Gracián in the preface to his *Coro de las Musas* (Brussels, 1672).

An expert might detect a considerable influence of the *Criticón* on *El Hércules éthico, político* (Sevilla, 1682) by Francisco de Godoy.

Jorge Henriques Moran praises "Lorenzo" Gracián in the eighth chapter of his *Regimiento político del hombre en edad florescente* (Lisbon, 1697). The title as well as the text of this work suggests imitation of the *Criticón*.

I have come upon no other author who depended so heavily on Gracián as Francisco Santos whose works are shot through with rank plagiarism. His *Periquillo el de las gallineras* (Madrid, 1668) is a veritable patchwork of passages transplanted almost literally and without acknowledgment from Part 1 of the *Criticón*. Similar pilferings are to be encountered also in *El rey gallo* (1671) and there are many traces of Gracián's ideas in *La verdad en el potro y el Cid resucitado* (1679) and *El sastre del campillo* (1685). The latter is the only one, I believe, in which Gracián is mentioned. Scarcely any of Santos' didactic prose works seems to be entirely free from the persistent influence of the *Criticón*.

As the flood of Spanish talent ebbed, the less original writers were prone to seek inspiration in the works of their predecessors. Those of the eighteenth

century were particularly imitative of earlier classics. One odd example is furnished in the *Viage del Parnaso* by Joseph de Casasús y Navia Ossorio (Valencia, 1749). In his journey the protagonist meets Traiano Boccalini, who expresses irritation at some of Gracián's remarks.

These are but a few random items submitted to indicate the need of delving more deeply into Spanish literature of the second half of the seventeenth century and later in order to evaluate Gracián's influence in his own country.<sup>2</sup> In view of Professor Romera-Navarro's authoritative knowledge of the *Criticón*, it is safe to say that he could assume this supplementary task more competently than anyone else.

ROBERT H. WILLIAMS

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*The Spirit of Molière.* By PERCY ADDISON CHAPMAN. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1940. Pp. xxii+250.

Not a few of us, who have the future of American culture at heart, have sometimes uttered the wish that criticism (and especially criticism of foreign literatures in their masterpieces) might be done, not exclusively by academic scholars and professional reviewers, but also by leisurely amateurs or so-called creative writers. If, as we firmly believe, the best of French culture is still alive today, it would be a worthy undertaking to collect a volume of essays in which Theodore Dreiser might interpret, in a personal and free manner, Balzac or Zola; Willa Cather, Mérimee; Thornton Wilder, Madame de Sévigné; Dos Passos, Rimbaud; Eugene O'Neill or Waldo Frank, Racine. The judgments, firmly seated upon an array of facts and dates, which a scholar offers on Molière and Rousseau are, no doubt, valuable; but what (if anything) does the tired—or retired—business-man think of those writers? We enjoy Molière's comedies in our study, and even in the class-room; does one of our less sophisticated fellow-beings take up a volume of Molière from his shelves, after an evening spent in vain attempts at laughter in a movie-house or at intoxication in a night-club, and does he thus, like Musset, find some comfort for “une soirée perdue”?

It would be an insult to the memory of Percy Chapman to say that his *Spirit of Molière* is the work of an amateur. The author was one of the best informed, the most scrupulous and delicate professors of French literature in this country. But he always remained above all a perfect gentleman of letters, modest and tactful in his approach to masterpieces, eager to seize their most profound secret and not to display or to impart vain knowledge, “a spirit without spot,” as Shelley defines another one of the *inheritors of unfulfilled renown*, another perfect gentleman, Sir Philip Sidney.

The present book is essentially a work of tact and a labor of love. None of

2. This topic forms the weakest chapter in the otherwise excellent study of Gracián by Adolphe Coster; cf. *Revue Hispanique*, xxix (1913), 347-752.

the thorny questions which one encounters in Molière's life or comedies is eluded, although the hateful word "problems," which has invaded our literary commentaries, is never printed. The author, in telling once more the tale of Molière's career, in analyzing plays (a difficult art, which he masters with a modest "virtuosité"), never tries to bring new and far-fetched details; but he reinterprets old truths in a new fashion, thanks to his patient and mature friendship with Molière. The book was left unfinished by the untimely death of a very fastidious writer, striving after perfection. One may regret that the space given to Molière's apprenticeship or to the quarrel of the *Ecole des femmes* was not devoted to an even fuller essay on Molière's comic spirit and philosophical outlook on life and man. A vain and probably impious regret! As it is, the last chapter on "The Spirit of Molière" contains some of the most penetrating and wisest pages ever written on the great Frenchman. The secret of the volume, and perhaps the secret to Percy Chapman's deep and profound personal charm, lies there: that "honnête homme" had an admirable reverence for greatness, and a faultless instinct which made him detect that greatness in Molière's philosophy. Where others have sometimes superciliously blamed haste, vulgarity, ponderous middle-class and male morality, Chapman's fervent quest reveals a message, a "reading of life" as Meredith, another worshipper of the comic spirit, would call it, and the most precious of all the gifts of French culture: sanity and "a healthy acceptance of life."

Even if the book is not intended primarily for them, scholars will find much pleasure and instruction in reading it. Some remarks on Molière as a representative of French classicism would deserve to inspire a whole study on that difficult, but central, aspect of Molière's genius.<sup>1</sup> Chapman's book constitutes, with Ramon Fernandez's brilliant and inspiring *Vie de Molière*, the most valuable appreciation of the essence of Molière's genius proposed in our generation. Will not some scholar step in the wake of those two guides, and give us the synthesis, the 'magnum opus' on Molière which is lacking and sadly needed, three hundred years after the foundation of "L'illustre Théâtre"?

A moving introduction by another subtle and profoundly human connoisseur of French letters, Christian Gauss, precedes Chapman's book. The manuscript has been revised and prepared for the press, with perfect care, discreet and most competent skill by Jean-Albert Bédé. Chapman's memory, all his friends, and those of Molière are deeply indebted to him.<sup>2</sup>

HENRI PEYRE

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1. Strangely enough, it is only by three foreign scholars (Percy Chapman, P. Köhler, a Swiss, and V. Vedel, a Dane) that the subject of Molière's classicism has been recently and only partially treated. Montaigne's influence on Molière (tentatively treated by Heller) would also deserve a new approach.

2. Despite the editor's skill, the book retains a fragmentary character. Pages 226-227 hardly do justice to Bergson's theory of laughter; and the brilliant development (pp. 220-221) on the divorce between classical literature and the expression of religious feeling is too sweepingly general.

*A Revolution in European Poetry, 1660-1900.* By EMERY NEFF. New York, Columbia University Press, 1940. Pp. 280.

C'est un livre à la fois intelligent et sensible, qui d'une part veut tracer de claires avenues dans l'immense production poétique qui s'est développée de 1600 à 1900; et qui, d'autre part, veut faire aimer la poésie. La poésie, on la conçoit généralement comme celle qui appartient à sa propre nation; M. Emery Neff nous apprend à dépasser ces limites trop restreintes, à assouplir notre goût, à enrichir notre âme, et à aimer la beauté dans ses diverses et multiples expressions. Il s'est installé en France, en Italie, en Allemagne, en Angleterre; il a écouté les cadences et les rythmes propres à chaque pays, un jour Novalis et un autre jour Baudelaire, un jour Leopardi et un autre jour Shelley. C'est ce qui donne à son étude une valeur rare: elle n'est pas seulement d'un *scholar* qui aligne les noms et les dates, mais d'un homme au goût fin et délicat, qui nous présente sans les faner les belles fleurs qu'il a cueillies. Il multiplie les exemples, avec raison; chaque fois il donne le texte original, et il le fait suivre de traductions excellentes, de traductions composées par lui-même. Son immense travail est récompensé par le plaisir qu'il procure au lecteur, de page en page et de chef-d'œuvre en chef-d'œuvre.

En même temps, il renonce à la classification traditionnelle par écoles, classicisme et romantisme, naturalisme et symbolisme; et il enregistre les poussées successives qui se sont produites dans la littérature européenne. Les mouvements qui tendent à cristalliser les formes acquises, puis à les rompre ou à les décomposer pour aller vers de neuves créations, il les conçoit de la façon suivante, d'après le plan de son ouvrage: c'est d'abord la grande réussite classique, telle qu'elle se manifeste aux alentours de 1660: "Tradition and Reason." Puis se fait entendre "The Voice of the North," préconisant une conception de la poésie extrêmement différente de celle qu'avait aimée la latinité. Mais les valeurs sociales revendiquent leur place: "Joy in Commonalty Spread." L'inspiration hellénique est ensuite étudiée: "The Glory that was Greece." "Nature"; "Wonder"; "This Uneasy Heart of Ours," sont les rubriques choisies par M. Emery Neff pour les derniers chapitres de son livre, avant deux Appendices consacrés l'un à une chronologie comparée, l'autre à une liste chronologique des principaux poètes, et une bibliographie succincte.

Est-ce la peine de dire que la richesse même de cette matière, nom moins que la hardiesse de l'entreprise, provoquent une foule de questions? On peut se demander s'il ne convenait pas de faire une place à l'Espagne; s'il est toujours possible et légitime de grouper, sous les têtes de chapitres, des valeurs qui semblent n'y rentrer qu'au prix de quelque effort; si le parti de fournir des explications élémentaires, analyses, biographies, et cetera, devait être préféré à celui qui aurait consisté à brosser plus largement ce tableau; si certaines esquisses, intervenant pour donner à la production poétique son explication et son cadre, ne sont pas condamnées à rester trop rapides. Mais on voit bien aussi ce qu'on peut répondre à ces doutes, qui se sont présentés à l'esprit de l'auteur tout le premier: c'est que, dans des synthèses de ce genre, il faut bien

se décider pour tel dessein plutôt que pour tel autre, et y demeurer très fermement fidèle. C'est ce qu'a fait M. Emery Neff; il nous donne une étude d'un genre nouveau, il nous fait penser, il nous présente un choix heureux et nuancé de trésors admirables; son livre mérite de figurer en excellente place dans la bibliothèque de ceux qui veulent réfléchir sur l'évolution du lyrisme européen, et rêver sur de beaux vers.

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*Romanticism in France.* By N. H. CLEMENT. New York, Modern Language Association of America, 1939. Pp. xviii+495.

Historians of romanticism have ordinarily approached their subject through a study of individual authors or works. Professor Clement presents what he calls the internal history of the movement. He endeavors first to define or describe romanticism, particularly as distinguished from classicism and then groups the principal romantic characteristics under general headings: types of romanticism, romantic *genres*, motifs, moods, characters, individualization, and finally primitivism. The insistence is upon the origin and evolution of romantic ideas.

Professor Clement was fully conscious of the vagueness and overlapping of the contours of his subject, as well as of the great variety of its content. He recognized the difficulty of his task and the apparent impossibility of establishing the neat and concise definition of romanticism which was part of his original intention (page 173). Romanticism is essentially anarchic, it has no fixed component parts. The attempt to collate and classify a vast amount of such material and to set it off by contrast with classicism leads to simplifications and generalizations which require modification. The author's conception of classicism seems arbitrary and inexact, hence comparisons and contrasts with it do not clarify the general literary picture appreciably.

The justification of *Romanticism in France* is based largely on an obvious misinterpretation. In discussing the problem of a satisfactory definition of romanticism, the author attributes to Pierre Moreau the statement: "On ne définit pas ce qui est de la nature du mystère." One naturally wonders how M. Moreau could have undertaken to write a monumental work on an inscrutable subject. The answer is that the remark was made by Baour-Lormian, whom M. Moreau quotes merely in order to poke fun at him. It must be admitted that the reader's confidence is shaken after this false start.

Professor Clement has unearthed and assembled a great store of interesting material, often from sources which are relatively inaccessible and little read. He has gone outside the purely French field in order to incorporate the recent findings in comparative literature. The arrangement of this diverse material provides convenient classifications which are lacking in most literary histories.

For these reasons the work will be extremely useful for reference purposes.

Had Professor Clement lived to revise his manuscript and to prepare it for publication, he would undoubtedly have detected and eliminated oversimplifications and unevennesses which tend to mar an otherwise valuable contribution.

JOSEPH F. JACKSON

*University of Illinois*

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*Enrique Gil y Carrasco: A Study in Spanish Romanticism.* By DANIEL GEORGE SAMUELS. New York, Instituto de las Españas, 1939. Pp. 249.

About no Romantic author has a more tender legend grown up than about Enrique Gil, nor one which is more justifiable. Dr. Samuels however, has no intention of recreating a personality, nor, despite his subtitle, of characterizing an epoch; he intends only a scientific study of the biography and works of his author. In successive chapters he discusses, principally in relation to contents and influences, the poetry, the periodical articles and the prose fiction of Enrique Gil. It has been and still is the fashion to ignore the imaginative prose works of Spanish Romantics who also wrote poetry or plays. Enrique Gil has particularly suffered as the poet of *Una gota de rocío*. Dr. Samuels now points the way towards a truer appreciation of the Romantics by including a full bibliography of prose works, especially of the periodical articles, in his scholarly bibliography of works of Gil, and by devoting only half as much space to his poetry as to his various works in prose. Other valuable innovations are the short section on form and style in Gil's poetry, and the critic's awareness, though it hardly goes beyond that, of the abundance of historical material which was easily available to the Spanish Romantics. It is all the more regrettable that as a whole this new study on the period should be marked by two fundamental weaknesses—even if we discount the immaturity of style. Quite clearly Dr. Samuels does not well understand how especially in the Spanish Romantic epoch all writers were influenced, some more, some less, by their epoch and were indebted to it, rather than to individual contemporaries, for many general and particular forms and ideas of literature. So, for example, because Enrique Gil praises the melancholy Espronceda (page 85) or describes how a father forces a *mariage de convenience* on his daughter (page 185), it is not therefore proved that he borrowed the emotion or situation from any author nor in turn suggested them to any of the many contemporaries from whom "parallel" passages are so abundantly quoted. They indicate merely that Gil makes full use of the stock-in-trade of Romanticism. The second weakness is one of proportion, or rather perhaps of execution, by which, in respect for a century-old aberration of criticism, the author has betrayed the admirable proportions he planned for his study. He acknowledges the importance of the novel in the Romantic epoch (page 141) and declares it to be the *genre* in which Gil found his true vocation (pages 32, 149). Yet his references to it are, in the general Introduction, non-existent; in the preliminary sketch of the Romantic

novel, conventional and faulty; and in the bibliography, incomplete. Surely it is not a prime merit in an historical novel that the real interest of the story should be concentrated on an historical event—the fall of the Templars (pages 201-215 *passim*); it is besides very doubtful whether this can be said of *El Señor de Bembibre*; while facts certainly disprove the statement, supported only by reference to the very poor novel of Martínez de la Rosa, that the Spanish historical novel evolves towards the “intensification of historical interest” (page 147).

There is much useful detail in this work though some of it seems merely curious and almost all is presented bare of comment or discussion. This reader at least was doubly disconcerted, by the bareness and the significance, of an item on page 212, which records how Enrique Gil, the Romantic *paysagiste*, describing in summer a scene he had previously described in winter, is content to alter a few words of the earlier passage!

REGINALD F. BROWN

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*Judith Gautier, sa vie et son œuvre*. Par M. DITA CAMACHO. Paris, E. Droz, 1939.  
Pp. 208.

The work of the daughter of Théophile Gautier has been discussed and praised by such distinguished writers as her father, Charles Baudelaire, Anatole France, Remy de Gourmont, and the brothers Tharaud; but none of these men attempted the complete biography that Mlle Camacho has given us. Her many sources include works by the above authors, the *Journal* of the Goncourts, Louis Barthou's article “Richard Wagner et Judith Gautier” (*Revue de Paris*, August, 1932), thirty-five unpublished letters from Judith Gautier to Pierre Loti, and above all Judith Gautier's autobiography *Le Collier des jours*. Without resorting to conjecture or imagination uncontrolled by fact, Mlle Camacho has blended her material into an extremely readable biography. Certain pictures stand out vividly. There is Judith Gautier's comradeship with her father; the frankness and independence that won her the nickname “l'Ouragan”; the adoption by the Gautiers of the stranded Chinaman Ting-Tun-Ling; and the exotic receptions at the Gautier home. Later there follow her marriage to Catulle Mendès and the subsequent separation; the enthusiastic defense of Wagner, the happy visit with him in Triebschen, his “amitié amoureuse” for Judith Gautier, and her calmer friendship for him; her collaboration with Pierre Loti; her salon; her election to the Académie Goncourt; and her retirement and death. A few trivial errors or slips may be noted. The article on Baudelaire's translation of Poe's *Eureka* (*Moniteur*, March 28-29, 1864) is signed J.-H. Walter, not Judith Walter (page 32). Mlle Camacho claims to list the nine members of the Académie Goncourt present at Judith Gautier's election (page 179), but actually lists only eight. One finds “Naignon” for “Naigeon” (page 60), “Shopenhauer” for “Schopenhauer” (page 122), and “Tristiane” for “Tristane” (page

195). But these are minutiae, and Mlle Camacho tells her story well.

Judith Gautier's writings, which are also treated in detail, include about forty novels, plays, and books of poetry. Like her father, she had little interest in humble realities. "Nostalgique, lointaine et vagabonde,"<sup>1</sup> her closest affinities were with certain of the Romanticists and Parnassians. In a delicate and colorful style she told the adventures of chivalrous heroes and lovely heroines in an Oriental dream-world of mystery and beauty. China, Japan, India, Persia and Palestine were her favorite scenes, in approximately that order; few of her books deal with any region but the Orient. Yet she persistently refused to see this Orient that she loved to describe, for fear of being disillusioned. "Je n'aime pas voir les Orientaux," she wrote (quoted page 142), "j'aime mieux me les imaginer." As M. Barthou remarks, her chief contact with reality was the wall that she erected around herself to keep it out.

Mlle Camacho shares this distaste for the everyday. She fears that the modern public, accustomed to what she considers a sordid literature of ugly realism and materialism, may be unable to appreciate fully the charm of her author. Her fears seem well founded. The reader will probably still enjoy the beauty of Judith Gautier's descriptions and stories and admire her style and imagination; but he may consider her thorough unconcern with ordinary realities a limitation, and fail to share completely Mlle Camacho's unreserved enthusiasm. It is this enthusiasm, however, that helps to make the most thorough study of Judith Gautier as entertaining as it is useful.

DONALD M. FRAME

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*Arthur Rimbaud.* By ENID STARKIE. New York, W. W. Norton and Co., n.d.  
Pp. 425.

I

Emboîtant le pas à Swinburne, les poètes et les critiques anglais prirent l'intérêt le plus vif à la poésie française moderne. Les travaux d'A. Symons, le *Verlaine* d'Harold Nicolson, le *Baudelaire* de P. Quennell, l'essai d'Edith Sitwell qui introduit la traduction parfois inexacte, mais sensible toujours, des *Il-luminations en prose* d'Helen Rootham, la parfaite traduction de l'*Anabase* de "St. John Perse" par l'Anglo-Américain T. S. Eliot et celle des *Poèmes* de Mallarmé par Roger Fry; enfin, le *Valéry* de Theodora Bosanquet, petit chef-d'œuvre de pénétration, de la langue la plus juste, témoignent, entr'autres, de l'attrait qu'a, pour l'Angleterre, le renouveau lyrique dont les *Fleurs du mal* furent la première frondaison.

Depuis une quinzaine d'années, Rimbaud, détrônant Verlaine et Laforgue chez les poètes de langue anglaise, commande leur attention passionnée. Il le doit à des Anglais comme Miss Sitwell, mais davantage aux Américains. Ezra Pound dans *Instigations* et T. S. Eliot furent ses véritables introduceurs. A leur

1. Mlle Camacho takes as her epigraph this phrase by Henri de Régnier describing Judith Gautier (*Les Nouvelles Littéraires*, August 16, 1930, p. 1).

suite, James Huneker, J. Watson Jr., par ses articles du regretté *Dial*, et par sa traduction d'une *Saison en enfer*, Edmund Wilson dans *Axel's Castle* et Matthew Josephson, dans sa préface à la traduction de la biographie de Rimbaud par J.-M. Carré, montrent quelle source vive de poésie Rimbaud a été en Amérique jusqu'à l'arrivée de W. H. Auden et de Louis MacNeice. Les œuvres de Hart Crane portent sa griffe; Leonard Bacon transpose le *Bateau ivre*; Lionel Trilling traduit plusieurs de ses poèmes (nous ne dirons rien de la traduction de la *Saison en enfer* aux *New Directions* qui n'est qu'une mauvaise plaisanterie); et nul n'a mieux compris que Miss Louise Bogan: "his insolent sincerity, his visionary-practical nature . . . his combined brutality and tenderness" dont elle rendait tantôt grâce à Dieu "en tremblant".

Miss Starkie est l'auteur de deux ouvrages, l'un sur Baudelaire, l'autre sur Verhaeren, et d'un excellent *Rimbaud en Abyssinie* auquel cette nouvelle étude doit ses chapitres les plus vivants. Le *Rimbaud* que voici s'apparente aux travaux précédents du même critique, par le sérieux des recherches et par la longueur des considérations. Grâce aux études biographiques qui existaient déjà—y compris les notes et les articles épars aux petites revues et aux journaux de province—grâce à l'examen de correspondances diverses et des trésors inédits des collections Doucet et Haim Matarasso, grâce, enfin, à des recherches personnelles,<sup>1</sup> Miss Starkie nous transmet tout ce que l'on peut savoir, à ce jour,<sup>2</sup> de cette existence déchirée.

Remercions l'auteur de se tenir hors du cirque où conservateurs, communistes et libertaires s'entrechoquent à qui mieux mieux sur le cadavre de Rimbaud. Mais, dès l'introduction, certaines paroles autoritaires ou sans portée comme celle-ci: "tout un monde sépare la poésie de Rimbaud de celle des adolescents ordinaires" nous font trembler de voir "le portrait cohérent" promis à notre espoir se dénaturer.

De catastrophe en catastrophe, et presque de mois en mois, Miss Starkie suit Rimbaud de sa naissance, en octobre 1854, jusqu'à sa mort, en novembre 1891. Elle nous renseigne sur les événements contemporains de Rimbaud, dessine les lieux de son existence vagabonde avec une fidélité scrupuleuse qui permet de bonnes mises au point, et grâce à laquelle nous avons cru entrevoir le microcosme prophétique des éternels départs du poète dans les déplacements successifs de la veuve Rimbaud à Charleville. Le tableau londonien du milieu communard, avec les "pubs" et les cafés de prédilection des exilés à Soho, autour de Leicester Square, où les deux "enfants perdus" tombèrent, cyniques et curieux, à l'automne de 1872, s'accorde bien avec leur vie et leurs œuvres. Les incidents qui composent le drame de Bruxelles, en juillet 1873, paraissent, chacun à son heure. L'histoire du pays abyssin,<sup>3</sup> où Rimbaud débouche avec sa caravane de contrebande, en décembre 1880; et la suite des onze dernières

1. Sources d'une bibliographie fort utile malgré sa confusion; mais on eût désiré une introduction critique à cette bibliographie autre que la gifle coutumière à Paterne Berrichon.

2. Si l'on y joint le *Journal de Vitalie Rimbaud*, publié par H. de Bouillane de Lacoste et H. Matarasso, *Mercure de France*, 15 mai-15 juin 1938.

3. Pour laquelle Miss Starkie consulta, outre les récits d'explorateurs, etc., les archives inédites du Foreign Office.

années: explorations au Harrar, déboires du trafiquant, son affreux retour d'Afrique vers l'hôpital, l'apparition à Roche, Marseille, forment un compte-rendu définitif de la dernière phase.

Ce portrait de Rimbaud, tracé avec dévotion, demeure cependant nuageux, malgré quelques touches audacieuses. Cela tient, d'abord, à une construction vacillante où la biographie et l'étude des œuvres, menées de front, se bousculent quand elles ne jouent pas à cache-cache. Se trouvant à Charleville, en août 1871, avec un Rimbaud blasphémateur, buveur, de langage ordurier, on y rencontre Charles Bretagne, employé des contributions indirectes au fait des lettres contemporaines, qui encourage Rimbaud à la révolte, l'intéresse à l'occultisme, et l'incite à se mettre en relations avec Verlaine. Là-dessus, Bretagne et Rimbaud s'effacent pendant trois chapitres en trente-cinq pages traitant de la Kabbale, de Ballanche et de Baudelaire. Puis, il faut cheminer le long de vingt-cinq autres pages où l'auteur étudie "la doctrine esthétique" de Rimbaud, le *Bateau ivre*, d'autres poèmes avant que le héros ne rentre en scène, en octobre de la même année, et ne descende en enfer avec son compagnon. Le départ de 1872 pour Bruxelles annoncé, on doit prendre les devants pour s'indigner qu'Anatole France ostracise le poète de la *Bonne Chanson* en 1875. Là, on s'attarde encore à une comparaison de Lautréamont à Rimbaud, pour revenir, enfin, non pas à Bruxelles, mais dans le Paris littéraire de 1871. Cet enchevêtrement force l'auteur à des redites multipliées: Que de fois faut-il plaindre Rimbaud enfant d'être sans argent, ni livres, ni liberté; entendre que sa cruauté pour Verlaine alla jusqu'au sadisme! Que de monotones retours sur l'éveil sexuel de l'un et les vices de l'autre! Le plus attentif des lecteurs perd le nord entre Rimbaud à l'aventure, dans Paris, et les péripéties de la révolte des Versaillais, après notre défaite de 1871; alors que deux ou trois dates prouvaient, comme désire le faire Miss Starkie, l'invariabilité d'un séjour de Rimbaud à Paris, sous la Commune même.

Pour dire tout ce qui touche à son héros, Miss Starkie pousse de telles pointes, à droite et à gauche, qu'on le perd de vue. Que chaut à Rimbaud Oliver Madox Brown qu'il ne connaît peut-être pas, ou bien les invités de Ford Madox Brown, qu'il ne rencontra jamais? Combien de confidences sur les démêlés conjugaux de Verlaine nous faut-il subir, sans que ces indiscretions multiples précisent les rapports des deux poètes! Il est regrettable aussi que l'auteur n'ait guère laissé événements et personnages parler d'eux-mêmes, qu'il les ait alourdis d'apartés inutiles: "We do not know why his choice fell on her," se demande-t-on à propos des fiançailles de Vitalie Cuif et du Capitaine Rimbaud; "he [Rimbaud] was obviously, at the time, going through a period of great strain and stress," insiste Miss Starkie (page 227), après nous l'avoir peint au retour de Bruxelles, malade, défait, rassasié de désespoir. Bon gré, mal gré, on sourit de remarques et de louanges qui seraient mieux en marge ou à la suite d'un docte ouvrage comme: "While his outward life was as depraved as his humble circumstances permitted" (page 88), ou bien telles que: "There was in Rimbaud's innocence and purity a platinum-like quality which no depravity could corrode" (page 171).

Miss Starkie tient à voir Rimbaud dans un jour si favorable, qu'elle prend feu contre tout autre. Verlaine, Mathilde, Isabelle et Mme Rimbaud font presque figure de jeu de massacre auprès de lui. Chacun a sa balle. Verlaine était évidemment perdu de saoûlerie et de libidine, mais rien ne justifie qu'on le ravale à ce demi-gâteux: "of too simple a nature to attempt to disguise it [his physical rapture] in his writings" (page 98); à cet être flasque "contemptuously soft" (page 234), "submerged in the slimy sentimentality and affection which constantly oozed from [him]";<sup>4</sup> à un monstre: "the clinging octopus that was strangling him [Rimbaud] whom he must finally destroy or be stifled" (page 235); ni qu'on appelle "smug piety" celle d'une conversion qui inspira *Sagesse et les Liturgies intimes*, les accents de *L'agneau cherche l'amère bruyère*. Ce pantin méconnaissable a néanmoins beau jeu auprès de Mathilde, coupable d'incompréhension bourgeoise crasse. On la condamne sans appel, pour avoir souffert en silence les fureurs alcooliques de son mari. Une bonne épouse, nous affirme-t-on, se serait emportée pour encourir sa juste part de réprobation de "the blame of loss of temper, of self-control" (pages 205, 206). Miss Starkie innocente, à bon droit, Isabelle d'avoir porté un faux témoignage sur la conversion in-extremis d'Arthur. Mais que la jeune fille se risque à écrire de l'hôpital où son frère se meurt, qu'elle vient "de baigner de larmes" une lettre de sa mère, c'est par "hypocrisie" et "affectation"; et sa joie de voir son malade converti n'est que l'arrogance d'une Rimbaud, etc. (pages 363-366). De Mme Rimbaud, après toutes sortes de pour et de contre, il ne reste qu'une effigie grisâtre. On oublie, sinon la paysanne âpre et entière, du moins celle qui fonçait, comme un bêlier, sur la vie. Nous avons cherché en vain la femme qui s'allongea dans la tombe qu'elle venait de faire creuser pour vérifier si le trou en était bien à sa mesure, et ne la retrouvâmes que par raccroc, à l'exhumation d'Arthur et de sa sœur ainée, recueillant sans broncher les restes de la jeune fille, dressant le constat de la chair pourrie, du squelette poudreux, sauf quelques os et des cheveux encore blonds et doux; celle, qui voyant apparaître à l'église Arthur, mort depuis huit ans, répondit à l'appel de ses yeux avec la résolution farouche, la délicatesse et la pudeur secrètes qui sont au cœur des *Illuminations* et qu'Emily Brontë eût reconnues sur le champ.<sup>5</sup>

C'est à la physionomie de Rimbaud que ces assertions hâtives ou tendancieuses portent surtout atteinte. Nous opposons une fin de non recevoir à la conclusion de Miss Starkie, à sa "théorie centrale," que le poète "at the time of his greatest power, believed that he *had become God*."<sup>6</sup> Les seules preuves qu'elle dépose à cet effet sont les manuels d'occultisme et d'alchimie que Rimbaud lisait au temps des *Illuminations*, où il est écrit que l'illuminé participe à l'œuvre divine, et l'image du démon triomphateur de *Crimen Amoris*. Mais le

4. Page 222. Cf.: "The same old sentimental slush oozed up once more" (p. 234).

5. Pages 373-375; traits pris aux lettres inédites de Mme Rimbaud à Isabelle, du 9 juin 1899 et du 24 mai 1900 (de la collection Matarasso). Il est bien regrettable que Miss Starkie n'en donne que des fragments en anglais, au lieu des originaux in-extenso.

6. Nous soulignons.

symbole que dessina l'art subtil de Verlaine à l'aide de souvenirs, non plus que certains rappels de lectures, n'autorisent cet axiome.<sup>7</sup> L'intelligence aiguë, la lucidité de Rimbaud le contredisent d'emblée. Le portrait fondé sur cette déclaration n'est donc pas valable, et ce serait appauvrir misérablement une vie extraordinaire que la réduire à la fantaisie d'un pareil oracle. Maintes affirmations douteuses l'aggravent; par exemple, que Rimbaud, à l'âge de seize ans, n'avait encore aucune expérience sexuelle parce qu'il ressemblait à une jeune fille, avec son teint clair et ses cheveux ondulés (page 69); qu'il ne prenait aucun plaisir à la débauche, tout en écrivant: "C'est le plus délicat et le plus tremblant des habits que l'ivresse, par la vertu de cette sauge des glaciers, l'absomphie";<sup>8</sup> que le vice fut pour lui "a . . . martyrdom giving him all the ecstatic joys of religious martyrdom" (page 170); et qu'indubitablement "with [Verlaine] he experienced . . . complete *physical and spiritual ecstasy*" (page 170).<sup>9</sup> C'est entrer bien avant dans leur familiarité, et trop peu dans celle de la poésie! A quoi bon regretter que l'adolescent en rupture de banc social n'ait pas reçu les secours de la psychanalyse? Le citoyen y eût peut-être gagné, mais . . . ses vers? Les psychiâtres n'ont sans doute que faire du goût; n'en faudrait-il quelque grain pour parler d'art, et pour éviter de dire tout haut que Rimbaud était peut-être "starved sexually and felt a craving for Verlaine's caresses" après sa retraite d'avril-mai 1873 (page 230)? La belle affaire pour qui s'attache à *Enfance* ou à la *Chanson de la plus haute tour!* Enfin, mettre le génie sur les bancs de l'école, le morigéner de prendre le savoir en journaliste; lui déclarer qu'un gamin de seize ans, (c'est l'auteur du *Bateau ivre*), n'est pas d'âge à pénétrer les arcanes de l'ésotérisme;<sup>10</sup> le rappeler à l'ordre, ici et là, et lui reprocher, parmi tant de sermonces, la plaisante ambition de vouloir apprendre divers métiers à l'aide de manuels, c'est par trop l'ajuster à soi. De là, il n'y avait qu'un pas malheureux jusqu'à le plaindre de son "arrested development" (page 379) ou d'être "devoid of vision" (page 319). Il faut ajouter que ces diversions et ces rebuffades viennent de la passion de tout amener au jour. Toutefois, si l'on avait relégué commentaires et développements en appendice, la figure de Rimbaud, mise en pleine lumière, pourrait mieux nous émouvoir. Nous aurions aimé en saisir la légèreté et la vélocité, éprouver sa faim de réalité. Mais il nous échappe. Nous ne distinguons que son visage d'errant et de cancéreux à l'agonie.

## 2

Miss Starkie a compulsé les textes rimbaudiens et leurs critiques avec autant de minutie que les documents biographiques. Elle confirme l'existence d'erreurs

7. Cf. l'Introduction et p. 380.

8. Lettre de Rimbaud à Delahaye, juin 1872.

9. Nous soulignons.

10. Page 99 "a full understanding of the intricacies of the Cabala"; cf. p. 296: "It is pathetic that so much creative energy and eagerness could not have been canalized in one single channel so that it could have reached some destination" (sur Rimbaud au Harrar).

telles que celle de l'attribution de *Poison perdu* à Rimbaud et celle qu'est le sens d'"enluminures" donné aux *Illuminations* par Verlaine. Il ressort de son exposé que *La Saison en enfer* ne devait pas être l'adieu de Rimbaud à la poésie. Mais pour la bibliographie des manuscrits et pour celle des éditions et pour leur histoire, pour l'ordre des textes et le choix des leçons, c'est à l'*édition critique* de H. de Boullane de Lacoste, en cours de publication (interrompue par la guerre) qu'il faut se référer.<sup>11</sup> Tout y est passé au crible d'une science judicieuse, entr'autres: le cahier de Verlaine, le célèbre "recueil Demény" des vingt-deux poèmes calligraphiés par Rimbaud en 1870, devenu avec les six poèmes de mai-juin 1871, le *Reliquaire* de Darzens qui souleva tant de polémiques. Il est donc maintenant impossible d'imputer les erreurs de l'édition dirigée par Verlaine en 1886 à l'ivresse de celui-ci, ou d'affirmer, avec Miss Starkie, qu'il eut connaissance des premiers poèmes de jeunesse avant le départ définitif de Rimbaud. Pourquoi Miss Starkie passe-t-elle sous silence des ouvrages utiles comme le *Rimbaud de la Bibliographie des poètes maudits* par Maurice Monda et François Montel<sup>12</sup> qui vaut encore par ses historiques, ses particularités de tirages, etc., ou comme l'édition des *Vers de collège* par Jules Mouquet?<sup>13</sup>

L'auteur charge trop la partie critique de son étude de recherches et de discussions extra-littéraires. N'avait-on en vue qu'une biographie éclairée par les œuvres ou les éclairant? Des chapitres entiers et de nombreux examens d'ordre tout littéraire font croire le contraire et nous laissent hésitants quant à l'objet réel de ce travail. Pourquoi, malgré la promesse de nous faire voir un Rimbaud "moving against the literary and social conventions of his age," n'est-il soufflé mot des milieux littéraires parisiens des années 1870 à 1875, de leurs visages, mœurs, cafés, petites revues, doctrines d'art, sauf quelques incidents sans portée et quelques noms? Ni de l'évolution poétique du deuxième romantisme, ni du repliement sur soi de la poésie pré-symboliste; ni, encore, de l'orientation des poètes au regard du naturalisme contemporain qui importe si fort ici? Le lecteur se demande pourquoi on ne lui citerait que les surréalistes parmi les successeurs de Rimbaud et nul des Français qui furent, après lui, des découvreurs: les Apollinaire, Max Jacob, Roussel? Enfin, pourquoi cette absence de toute allusion à l'influence considérable de Rimbaud sur les poètes anglais et américains?

L'étude de l'œuvre souffre, autant que le portrait, d'un entre-croisement causant, ici comme là, détours et retours où l'on s'égare. C'est ici, un long chapitre résumant les ouvrages de Ballanche que Rimbaud "seems to have read"; et là, de longues digressions sur les traductions françaises de poèmes chinois, et sur le *Livre de jade*,<sup>14</sup> qui n'offrent, sauf par la brièveté, aucune ressemblance avec les *Illuminations en prose* qu'il s'agisse de mouvement,

11. Édition critique, premier vol., *Poèmes* (comprenant les *Illuminations en vers*), Mercure de France, 1939.

12. Giraud-Badin, 1927.

13. Mercure de France, 1932.

14. Pages 193-194.

d'images ou d'émotion. Cependant, il y avait eu Aloysius Bertrand et Baudelaire. En revanche, on se demande ce que Rimbaud avait bien lu de Proudhon et d'autres révolutionnaires.

On a dit tout à l'heure pourquoi la "théorie centrale"<sup>15</sup> de Miss Starkie paraît non recevable. En effet, l'opinion de M. le colonel Godchot, non plus que la trace de certaines lectures sur les *Illuminations*, ou que l'allusion à Rimbaud dans *Crimen Amoris* ne peut la légitimer. Dire que l'orgueil de l'adolescent libéré de la tyrannie maternelle, de conventions sociales odieuses, ravi en sa nouvelle découverte poétique, s'enflamma jusqu'au sentiment d'une quasi-omnipotence, rien de plus juste. C'est l'histoire de mainte adolescence. Mais infliger l'accusation de s'être cru Dieu, littéralement, à un esprit déjà maître des plus hauts secrets de la poésie, à l'auteur d'un chef-d'œuvre comme le *Bateau ivre*, ne se peut admettre. Notre confiance ébranlée se refuse toujours plus à Miss Starkie devant de graves erreurs de sens qui portent atteinte à la poésie même. Son interprétation de: "Joies, joies, pleurs de joie," et du pari de Pascal est choquante. Il nous suffira d'en appeler à l'un des plus savants pascaliens.<sup>16</sup> Le *long, immense et raisonnable dérèglement de tous les sens* que Rimbaud s'inflige ne saurait impliquer, comme elle le fait entendre, la seule idée de débauche, mais une dissociation violente qui use de celle-ci comme d'un de ses instruments libérateurs. Quels qu'ils soient, ces moyens déchirent et torturent le dérèglé qui doit apparaître aux "assis," comme "le grand malade, le grand maudit." On s'insurge de voir traduire "je retiens ma place au sommet de cette angélique échelle de bon sens" par ". . . the topmost rung of the ladder of common sense"! Toute une phase de la *Saison en Enfer* en est contrefaite. Rimbaud donne aux mots leur pleine substance et parle évidemment ici de sens bon comme le confirment le mot "angélique" et cette phrase voisine: "le chant raisonnable des anges s'élève du navire sauveur," et d'autres. Baudelaire est, avec Rimbaud, victime d'un égale méprise lorsque Miss Starkie traduit par "weary boredom" l'*Ennui*, le "plus laid, plus méchant, plus immonde" de nos vices, ce "monstre" qui "rêve d'échafauds,"<sup>17</sup> qui avait poussé René au suicide, et que Bossuet range parmi les passions qui agitèrent "violemment" l'âme du Christ au Jardin des Oliviers.<sup>18</sup> Lorsque Rimbaud s'écrie: "Esclaves! ne maudissons pas la vie!" c'est par détresse de se voir séparé de la réalité vivante, et non par "the grudging acceptance of reality," ce qui le contredit à chaque pas, et qui va pousser, en effet, Miss Starkie à dire: "This leads to some contradictions and inconsistencies and to a certain indecision at times." Ce n'est donc pas chez le poète qu'existe le désordre qu'on reproche à *Matinée d'ivresse*, poème d'un enchaînement si rigoureux que Mallarmé l'eût trouvé trop descriptif. Et si la strophe d'*Enfance*,<sup>19</sup> merveilleusement accordée à ses compagnes, s'ouvrant par *L'essaim des feuilles d'or entoure la maison du général*,

15. Pages 135-136.

16. Jacques Chevalier, *Pascal*, Plon, pp. 103-104, 287-300.

17. *Les Fleurs du mal*, "Au Lecteur."

18. *Carême de 1660*, *Sermon sur la Passion*, premier point.

19. *Illuminations*.

est incompréhensible au critique (page 179); s'il laisse passer: "O le moucheron enivré à la pissotière de l'auberge, amoureux de la bourrache, et que dissout un rayon!"<sup>20</sup> (page 256), sans y voir la défaite totale que doit être, d'abord, l'expérience poétique, c'est pour la même raison.

Nous ne nous attarderons pas aux nombreux à peu-près qui émoussent le texte, comme: "I embrace you" pour "Je vous embrasse"; "folly" pour "la folie qu'on enferme"; "sucker-shoots" pour "racines," etc.; mais nous regretterons sans cesse de trouver ces admirables poèmes anémiés, ou déjetés par les commentaires et les résumés qui les enchaînent. "Je parvins à faire s'évanouir toute l'espérance humaine. Sur toute joie pour l'étrangler, j'ai fait le bond sourd de la bête féroce . . . Je me suis allongé dans la boue. Je me suis séché à l'air du crime. Et j'ai joué de bons tours à la folie,"<sup>21</sup> s'annonce par: "He thought that he could do better than others, that he had no need of the things that made life sweet for them, and he tried a life of crime and vice"! Ainsi fait-on bon marché d'un cruel anéantissement de soi, sans souci des enchaînements ni des concordances.

A qui l'auteur s'adresse-t-il ainsi à la légère et ex-cathedra, fait-il tant de remarques d'une extrême évidence et naïveté? Fallait-il s'expliquer avec un auditoire n'ayant encore pénétré d'autres œuvres que *The Village Blacksmith*, *We are Seven*, ou *la Fiancée du Timbalier*, et l'aider à franchir un pas difficile en l'avertissant que dans les *Illuminations*: "We find associated together images we do not usually connect"; que Rimbaud "omitted all the connecting links"? (Certes, et l'on en dirait autant de Donne et de Vaughan.) Quel lecteur de Rimbaud va-t-on prévenir qu'il ne saurait prétendre recevoir tout de go: "the whole vision" du poète? ou bien assurer que Baudelaire "did not mean that poetry should content itself with copying the sounds of music, that it should become what, conversely, some music is, program music like the famous *Battle of Prague* so popular with our grandmothers" (page 116)? Mais, se risquerait-on, d'autre part, à remettre en des mains ingénues le dossier médical qui prouve l'homosexualité de Verlaine à l'instruction judiciaire de Bruxelles? Sinon des adolescents assoiffés de certitudes immédiates, qui pourrait bien se satisfaire de généralisations présomptueuses comme celle qui fait attribuer à l'expérience poétique de Rimbaud tout entière, les hallucinations dont il souffrit après un mois d'exercices et d'effort pour atteindre à l'état de voyance (page 223)? Qui voudrait convenir que les *Illuminations* en prose sont "far more obscure in subject matter" que les autres? *Silence* ou *Michel et Christine* semblent pourtant d'un abord aussi étrange que *Déluge*, *Aubes* ou *Ornières*.

Miss Starkie s'arrogue le droit de parler pour Rimbaud et nous décrit ce qu'il ressentait en écrivant *Cœur Supplicié*. Elle nous affirme que la vie réelle consistait pour lui en l'union mystique avec Dieu. Elle reproche à l'élève fautif d'avoir commis "une erreur" vraiment tragique, mutilé le meilleur de lui-même, lorsqu'il renonça la littérature, et d'avoir mal "composé" son devoir

20. *Saison en enfer* (suite de la *Chanson de la plus haute tour*).

21. *Saison en enfer* (Introduction).

dans la *Lettre du Voyant* (dont elle fait une théorie), de n'avoir pas su en faire "un tout compact." On imagine l'adolescent se gaussant de ces remontrances scolastiques à propos d'une lettre écrite à un camarade dans le feu du la découverte.<sup>22</sup> On le devine fulminant de la voir remaniée et d'apercevoir le cours, ou la vie, du *Bateau ivre* bouleversé. Toujours désinvolte, le critique adjuge prix et places sans explications: Les *Assis* sont une des œuvres les plus originales de Rimbaud; *Ce qu'on dit au poète à propos de fleurs*, l'un de ses "ablest and wittiest poems"; le *Bateau ivre* reçoit le premier prix aux dépens des *Illuminations*; *Soleil et chair* s'égale à *Banville*; les *Pauvres à l'Eglise* et les *Chercheuses de poux*, à *Baudelaire* qui "s'arrêta court" là où Rimbaud prit le départ. Tels éloges nous décontenancent par leur peu de retenue. Ainsi, la *Comédie en trois baisers*, avec son badinage de gamin qui ose, serait: "a delightful . . . happy and charming poem." On nous annonce que *Rêve pour l'hiver*, où le très habile élève de *Banville* joue des castagnettes sur un thème de caserne, :

. . . *Un petit baiser, comme une folle araignée*  
*Te courra par le cou,*  
*Et tu me diras: "Cherche!" en inclinant la tête*  
*Et nous prendrons du temps à trouver cette bête*  
*Qui voyage beaucoup,*

se range parmi les poèmes de jeunesse qui expriment: "a happy innocence and a purity that he never again recaptured." Enfin, *Cœur supplicié* prouverait qu'alors, "Rimbaud's senses were awakened and his body left curious and hungry for experience," ce qui est affaire de médecine. Les plus dévots rimbaldiens (dont nous fûmes toujours) ne pourront se résoudre à croire que leur poète fût "more gifted with artistic qualities than any poet in French literature!"—Plus que l'auteur d'*Adonis*, plus que Racine! Ni qu'il fût: "the most original writer"<sup>23</sup> that France has ever possessed"—Nonobstant Villon, Rabelais, Roussel? Ou qu'il ait doué la poésie de "an evocative power that has been equalled by no other poet."—Mais quoi des poèmes de Mallarmé et des *Chimères*, et de *La Lucarne ovale*? Qui oserait, de sang-froid, comparer son mysticisme à celui de saint Jean-de-la-Croix ou à celui de sainte Thérèse d'Avila?

Rimbaud n'en demande pas tant. C'est mal servir son génie que d'en fouiller le reste de la littérature française où Miss Starkie, d'accord avec une critique ignorante, ne discerne pas la veine mystique. Qu'Evelyn Underhill lui réponde! C'est en obscurcir la pure lumière que de prendre à partie ou de mettre sous cloche, en son honneur, quelques-uns des plus grands: Lamartine, pour n'exprimer dans ses poèmes sur la nature que "a search for sympathy and comfort," en dépit de la vision presque béatique où montent certains chants de *Jocelyn* ou de *La Chute d'un ange*; tout le Parnasse, constamment, pour n'être

22. Cf. "Ce serait donc une erreur de juger ces pages étranges et toutes spontanées comme on jugerait un essai mûrement réfléchi, pesé point par point. . . ." R. Gilbert-Lecomte, *Correspondance inédite (1870-1875) d'Arthur Rimbaud*, Editions des Cahiers Libres, 1929.

23. Nous soulignons.

que logique et froideur; la critique catholique, pour incapacité; et Banville, ce "fleuriste," pour avoir créé des femmes "with the sexlessness of a Greek statue" (page 177) (qu'en pensent les sculpteurs?) malgré cette plainte:

. . . *Quoi! la bouche  
Qui vous caresse et qui vous touche  
Avec un délire inouï,  
Le main frémissoante qui presse  
Les vôtres, les soupirs, l'ivresse,  
Les yeux éteints qui disent oui,  
Tout cela n'est que mensonge. . . .*<sup>24</sup>

Que Verlaine n'aspire pas au premier rang! car sa poésie ne fut que "a means of self-expression."<sup>25</sup> On y trouve, pourtant, le dernier poème de *Sagesse*, et tel cantique franciscain sur la paix dominicale:

. . . *Tout à l'heure déferrait  
L'onde, roulée en volutes  
De cloches comme des flûtes  
Dans le ciel comme du lait.*<sup>26</sup>

Après Baudelaire, Lautréamont, seul, est l'objet d'une assez longue comparaison avec Rimbaud, où leurs deux œuvres sembleraient de même ordre. Nous y sommes ébaubis de cette condamnation: "he [Lautréamont] possesses to a lesser degree the power of giving concrete shape to his visions," lancée à la tête d'un prodigieux "concrétiseur," chez qui l'abstraction apparaît toujours sous figure de chose, d'animal, d'organe, de plante ou de pierre; à celle du poète qui fait affleurer les plus sourds remuements de l'instinct à la surface du conscient en formes champlevées d'une main vénémente; qui voit dans le "vieux océan" "un poulpe au regard de soie," Dieu, comme "l'horrible Éternel à la figure de vipère; et qui considère l'axiome: "dans sa cartilagineuse carapace." Cette fois le critique s'abandonne sans frein à l'invraisemblable.

Quelques-uns des prédecesseurs et des contemporains les plus importants de Rimbaud sont mis de côté, on ne sait pourquoi: Charles Cros, l'inventeur; Corbière, dont le *Paria* est frère du héros de *Mauvais Sang*, comme l'avait bien vu Verlaine;<sup>27</sup> Nerval, le Blake français, dont *l'Aurélia* et les *Illuminés* trempent dans les sciences mystérieuses bien plus que les *Illustrations*; puis, le plus grand de ceux qui enfoncèrent les portes de l'au-delà à cette époque, le maître de Mallarmé, auteur de *Claire Lenoire*.

Le lyrisme, surtout, pâtit de ces injustices. Les contresens relevés tout-à-l'heure ne sont que les fragments d'une méprise totale sur la signification et sur le cours de la *Saison en enfer*. Quand elle étudie les *Illustrations*, Miss Starkie nous retient toujours en deçà de la poésie, tout en leur concédant de ne

24. *Songe d'hiver*, 1842.

25. "Poetry had been for him, with all his fine hopes, what it had always been for the wretched Verlaine, a vehicle of self-expression" (p. 227).

26. *Sagesse*, XIII.

27. *Le Coffret de santal*, *Les Amours jaunes* et *La Saison en enfer* sont de 1873.

pas être "negligible" comme "artistry" (page 178). Jamais on n'y aborde. On voudrait comprendre à quelle essence ces mots font allusion: "This was, in a certain measure, the aim that Rimbaud sought to achieve in his poetry, to simplify language, omitting what was not strictly essential" (page 111); car Boileau n'enseigne pas autre chose. Nous désirerions savoir comment la poésie, après Baudelaire, va prendre la direction de l'infini, puisqu'il nous est affirmé que "Poetry was then the means of exploring the infinite"; et si la poésie ne doit être qu'un instrument, c'est pour *quoi* faire? On sait bien que tel commentateur ne sait voir dans la vision rimbalienne que l'effet du delirium tremens, que d'autres nous interdisent d'y reconnaître rien autre que l'apologie de la révolution. Rares sont les critiques qui se joignent aux poètes pour lire Rimbaud en poètes. Miss Starkie, malgré de si longs travaux d'approche, ne nous introduit pas parmi ceux-ci; car elle confesse avec énergie son aveuglement à ce qui est l'âme de la *Saison en enfer*, et même celle des *Illuminations* en déclarant: "Whatever he might say or think, reality was what Rimbaud was never able and never would be able to accept" (page 248). Nous répondrons que tout le reste fut pour lui irrecevable.<sup>28</sup> Cet à-rebours capital explique comment Miss Starkie a cru mettre le doigt sur tant d'incohérences et trouver tant de contradictions dans ces accords inévitables, ou d'incertitudes, à ces verticales de feu qui ne se brisent que pour jaillir, à nouveau, plus vertigineuses; comment elle a pris pour le reniement des *Illuminations* un graphique des degrés spirituels ou poétiques franchis par Rimbaud; et n'a pu saisir l'implication de cette apostrophe au travail, opium du pèlerin, séducteur: "C'est trop simple. . . . J'ai mon devoir; j'en serai fier à la façon de plusieurs en le mettant de côté" qu'ellealue de cette apostrophe: "No! work was too light a thing for his pride, too great a confession of weakness and failure!" (page 259). En vain, elle arrose le volcan. Nous nous risquons à croire, au contraire, que l'orgueil du patient était vaporisé depuis longtemps dans le feu, comme ses hésitations, s'il en eut jamais, sur "le problème du bien et du mal."<sup>29</sup> Il était maintenant "au monde," le sien. Il "savait" sa quête. Il apercevait les perspectives de la voie "raisonnable" (non pas rationnelle!) qui l'amènerait à posséder la réalité dans une âme et un corps. Peu importe ce qu'il advint de l'errant d'Abyssinie.

M. MESPONLET

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*The Rise of Integral Nationalism in France, with Special Reference to the Ideas and Activities of Charles Maurras.* By WILLIAM CURT BUTHMAN. New York, Columbia University Press, 1939. Pp. 350.

Although Dr. Buthman's study was presented for the doctorate in history, it deserves mention here in that it supplements the work of A. V. Roche and others in the history of Anti-Romantic, Anti-Democratic thought in France.

28. Comme nous essayons de le prouver dans l'introduction à la traduction des Œuvres de Rimbaud qui est en cours de publication aux *Arrow Editions*.

Integral Nationalism, in Dr. Buthman's analysis, is Charles Maurras. He has gathered in one cover all the available significant material on the intellectual background of Maurras' political thought, including the curious esthetic predilections of that insatiable eclectic. His chapters on the predecessors of Maurras—Taine, Déroulède, Boulanger, Barrès *et al.*—are palpably less successful: inclusion of such a vast amount of material has driven the author to the use of such labels as "Taineism," "Barrésism," etc., the addition of which to our already overstocked critical vocabulary is far from welcome. But for his treatment of Maurras his book is a useful contribution.

An extensive bibliography, unorthodox in arrangement but suggestive both in what it includes and what it omits, completes the volume.

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*The Pre-War Biographies of Romain Rolland.* By RONALD A. WILSON. London, Oxford Press, 1939. Pp. iv+233.

Mr. Wilson likes enumeration. He asked Romain Rolland a series of questions about sources, influences, etc. and now publishes in an Appendix two long letters (29 June 1936; 19 February 1937) in which the distinguished writer gave, *seriatim* and without the fire that often characterizes his manner, polite and somewhat matter-of-fact answers. He asked many literary personages, Gide, Durtain, Louis Gillet, Cazamian, Benjamin Crémieux, Firmin Roz, René Lalou, etc., etc., what they thought of Rolland and here lists the results of a painstaking *enquête*. In an endeavor to put the *Vies héroïques* in a proper setting he surveys the record from Plutarch down to Carlyle and Emerson and even down to Maurois—but when we are through we have not much more than a catalogue.

All this is conscientious and some of it is valuable. Mr. Wilson has had the advantage not only of correspondence but of long conversations with his author; various items here set down will be indispensable for anyone attempting, as Mr. Wilson was quite deliberately not attempting, a general appraisal of one of the most significant European writers of the early twentieth century. There is new information about the important relationship of the youthful Rolland with Tolstoy. The consideration of what kind of historical training was provided at the Ecole Normale Supérieure in Rolland's student days is scholarly in method, and relevant. The study of the number of editions, of publishers' records of sales, presents useful bits of evidence. But when one takes account of what Mr. Wilson affirms, indeed somewhat tonelessly (page 214), to be the purpose of his book: "to show the true nature of Romain Rolland's pre-war biographies, and their importance in his work and period," one can hardly feel that he has succeeded.

It is really too bad that so strenuous a human being as Romain Rolland should be treated in so vapid a manner. Rolland generally arouses passionate

comment. Not long ago a book about him by Christian Sénéchal<sup>1</sup> was presented as a study of "le mainteneur des forces éternelles, l'artiste créateur, le reconstruteur," and in the same year Charles Maurras was lashing at the "préchi-prêcha" of this "verbomane dégénéré."<sup>2</sup> Anatole France hated him,<sup>3</sup> and Pierre Dominique afterwards saluted him<sup>4</sup> as the man who on four different occasions when the world needed a resounding voice spoke out with a heartening message (the four pronouncements so valiant would be: the *Vies héroïques* that Mr. Wilson treats; *Jean-Christophe*; the war-books; the new studies of *l'Inde vivante*). Rolland himself made his position particularly clear in a stirring address sent by request to American youth in 1923. This is a letter entitled "Ne Res Judicata Pro Veritate Habeatur,"<sup>5</sup> wherein he proclaims the need of combining such an attitude of "free criticism" as the title implies with a capacity for enthusiasm. The ideal of humanity, he says, is to associate these qualities. "My rôle is to sow a virile inquietude in the spirits of sincere and intrepid men. My rôle is to say to them: 'You are swathed in prejudices. Dare to throw them aside. And seek'."<sup>6</sup> It is too bad that Mr. Wilson was not aware of this document, so much more in the heroic manner than the letters he elicited from the author for his study of Rolland on heroes. There is still need of a scholarly and imaginative book on this subject.

HORATIO SMITH

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*La Posizione della lingua italiana.* Di W. von WARTBURG. Firenze, Sansoni, 1940.  
Pp. 98.

In this brief volume, a condensation of a series of lectures held at the Hertzian Library and the Institute of Romance Philology of the University of Rome, Professor von Wartburg endeavors to trace the history of the Italian language by describing the internal and external factors that led to its creation and its separation from its sister Romance tongues. The author presents views which are partly traditional, partly original, to a considerable degree unsubstantiated and controversial, and which everywhere bear upon the larger and more fundamental problem of general Romance development.

Latin, he claims (page 12), was tinged with regional peculiarities even at the time of the Romanization of the individual provinces; he alleges there was a difference between Gaulish and Iberian pronunciation of Latin (the Gaul, he

1. *Romain Rolland: L'Annonciateur.* Paris, Edition de la Caravelle, 1934.

2. *Action Française*, 28 septembre 1934.

3. "Jean-Christophe, avec son idéalisme incurable et imprécis, lui était odieux" (Marcel Le Goff, *Anatole France à la Béchellerie*, Paris, 1924, p. 97).

4. "Nourritures Orientales de l'Occident," *Nouvelles Littéraires*, 19 avril 1930.

5. Reproduced in *The New Student*, April 7, 1926.

6. Cf. the epigraph to *L'Ame enchantée*, II:

*To strive, to seek, not to find, and not to yield.*

Here Rolland is taking liberties with Tennysonian optimism—and rhythm—but he makes his point.

asserts by way of exemplification, pronounced *faxtus* for *factus*). No evidence for this regional differentiation is presented, and all who have studied the problem know how few and uncertain are the elements of proof, in this matter of local pronunciations of Latin, either from inscriptional material or from the testimony of grammarians and writers. The example chosen seems singularly unfortunate, since the *faxtus* pronunciation, if it existed, must have applied to Iberia as well as to Gaul, in view of subsequent developments.

"If Rome had remained the vital center, the heart and brain of the Empire, these differences would have vanished," the author continues: "As it was, they deepened. The vanishing of a recognized authority and the weakening of the *Pax Romana* added to the divergences that already existed." This is a quick way of disposing of five troublesome centuries, during which Rome actually was the heart and brain of the Empire. Five centuries mean at least fifteen generations. The experience of America in modern times shows us what even two generations can accomplish in the way of changing linguistic habits when centralizing factors are really at work. Education, military service, communications, interchange of populations, the prestige of the predominant racial and social group and its "national" language are fully capable of wiping out linguistic backgrounds that have behind them a powerful cultural tradition (witness the Swedes in Delaware, the French Huguenots and the Dutch in New York, the Spaniards in Florida); neither Gauls, nor Iberians, nor Dacians possessed such cultural and national traditions, and Romanization, taking place over a period of many centuries before the disintegrating factors of which the author speaks set in, may perhaps be supposed to have had sufficient time to accomplish its work.

The most important dialectal border in the Empire, the author goes on (page 13), divided Romania into an eastern and a western half; it cut the Empire in two, passing across the Appennines along the Spezia-Rimini line, then jumping the Adriatic and continuing along a line running, roughly, from Trieste to Budapest; from the end of the second century A. D., fundamental divergences appear along this border; the East, including Moesia, Dacia, Illyricum, central and southern Italy, dropped final -s; the West, including the two Gauls, the Rhineland, the Alps, Iberia and Africa, retained it. What intrigues us most in this matter is the Spezia-Rimini line, which follows no natural divide of mountains or rivers, no historical division, and appears to be an *a posteriori* creation designed to account for the difference between Tuscan and Gallo-Italian. Why should this border have existed? What proof of it do we have from our inscriptions, grammarians or authors? If it had been a survival of hypothetical ancient substrata, would not the long period of Roman rule in Italy have eliminated it before the Empire came to an end? Elsewhere (page 47) the author tells us that Papal Rome, as the heir of Byzantium, placed a barrier across the Peninsula which was to divide the north from the south for twelve centuries. This is historically true, whatever its linguistic significance may be. But the Papal divide runs from Rome to Ravenna, not from Spezia to Rimini.

"The entire West outside of Iberia gave *u* a peculiar palatal tinge," according to von Wartburg (page 14), "but this tinge did not extend to the hinterland of Venice." Why not, we wonder. There is no break in the geographical continuity of the Po Valley. And did not the peculiar palatal tinge exist in Rome itself, as attested by *optumus-optimus*, *decumus-decimus*, etc., and in central Italy (Umbrian *pir*, Oscan *tiurr̥*)?

The Visigoths and other East Germanic tribes, continues the author (page 18), had no influence on the formation of Romance linguistic borders, although they formed vast and important kingdoms in southern France, Septimania and Spain; but after a few generations they became completely Romanized and were lost, little by little, in the Roman population. An interesting statement, but decidedly not in accord with the author's subsequently expressed views. For on page 20, he claims that the strong Germanic influence exerted by the Franks in northern France leads to the diphthongization of free stressed vowels, in contrast with the south of France, where, presumably, the Germanic influence was weak and diphthongization does not appear (*miel* vs. *mel*); the Longobards (page 23) are claimed to have had the same effect on Italian (*piede*, *nuovo*, vs. *perde*, *corpo*). But if French and Italian diphthongization is to be attributed to Germanic influence, and the Visigoths had no linguistic effect on Spain, how are we to explain Spanish diphthongization, which appears even in checked vowels (*miel*, *nuevo*, *pie*, *pierde*, *cuerpo*)? Italian diphthongization, the author continues (page 23), diminishes progressively as we go south, since Longobardic influence and diphthongization move side by side. That is why, presumably, *cuorps* and *viendo* appear in Abruzzian-Neapolitan as against Tuscan *corpo* and *vento*. But the author has a ready explanation: "On the Adriatic slope of southern Italy, the phenomenon seems to be rather modern." He does not give us his definition of "modern." The earliest vulgar Apulian document, the fourteenth-century *Sydrac Otrantino*, shows us such forms as *riendi*, *vassielo*, *fiere*, *fueco*, etc.

The Longobards, the author holds (page 24), have a paramount influence in the formation of the Italian language; it is they who "break the Spezia-Rimini barrier, reuniting the regions to the north and south of that barrier, which were about to separate; but they do not altogether obliterate the barrier . . . from the Romance point of view, the Longobardic and Frankish invasions have opposite effects; in a relatively homogeneous territory, the Franks create a deep gap, dividing what would, without them, have remained united; the Longobards, on the contrary, weld together two regions which were about to become estranged, preventing the widening of the existing gap." The nucleus of the *Lebensraum* of the Italian tongue, under Longobardic influence, von Wartburg concludes on page 26 (and here I follow his somewhat curious imagery), was born of the fusion of the Po plain and central Italy (Tuscany and Umbria); those regions created a new linguistic and cultural consciousness, while Rome and Naples kept aloof.

All this is a little breath-taking. First, where again is the evidence for the

Spezia-Rimini linguistic boundary? Secondly, why should the Longobardic and Frankish invasions have had such opposite effects? Thirdly, if the Italian language is truly a fusion of Po Valley and central dialects, to the exclusion of Rome and Naples, why should we encounter such violent linguistic differences between, say, Florence and Bologna, and such relative linguistic uniformity between Florence and Rome? Fourthly, in what precisely does the all-important Longobardic contribution consist?

No answer is, or, in the nature of things, can be vouchsafed to the first two questions. For the others, instructive information is to be derived from the author's second and third chapters. He tells us (page 66) that northern Italy, outside of Venetia, is characterized by those phonetic changes which have their root in the Gaulish substratum (*murum* > *mür*; *noctem* > *noxt*, *noit*, *nöt*; strong contractions, often surpassing those of French: Bolognese *pnär* as against French *peigner*, Tuscan *pettinare*; *bdot̄s* as against Tuscan *pidochio*; *asptär* as against Tuscan *aspettare*). Does this look like a fusion of Po Valley and central dialects, to the exclusion of Rome and Naples? "The fall of so many vowels" (in Gallo-Italian) says the author, "causes consonant groups to arise which the mouth of a central or southern Italian would be incapable of pronouncing." But is this not an admission of centro-southern unity, rather than evidence of the fusion of Po Valley and Umbro-Tuscan forms which the author claims forms the backbone of Italian? And if this is true, just where does the unifying force of the Longobards come in?

On page 43, the author, after presenting a table of phonological changes from Latin to Italian, states: "Our chronology of phonological transformations yields the surprising result that three quarters of the changes that separate the Latin of Cicero from the Italian of Mussolini fall within the first quarter of our chronology" (that is, before 500 A. D.); "and if we were to measure phonological changes not by their number, but by their importance, the proportion would lean still more heavily on the side of the more ancient period; phonetically, therefore, the popular Latin of the year 500 A. D. is much closer to modern Italian than to Classical Latin; when the Empire fell, most of the phonological changes had already taken place, and since then Italian has shown remarkable stability." Again the question insistently arises: if all this is true, what have the Longobards contributed to the picture? In what way did they even partly blast away the linguistic Maginot line that von Wartburg builds between Rimini and Spezia?

The great contribution seems to be limited to one single specific phenomenon: the diphthongization of free vowels; that same diphthongization which the author claims (pages 44-45) as all-important in the transformation of the Latin of Gaul into French under Frankish influence, and which he completely overlooks in Spanish, which diphthongizes even in the checked position.

The picture is indeed confusing. French diphthongization is of Frankish origin; Italian diphthongization is of Longobardic origin, but must be discounted when it appears in the south, where the Longobardic influence was

not strongly felt; Spanish diphthongization must not be attributed to the Visigoths, since they had no influence whatever on the language of the peoples with whom they came in contact. This, unfortunately, is what happens when solid scholarship writes to a thesis.

The Latin of the Low Empire, says von Wartburg (pages 79-80), had a strong stress-accent, which in Gaul was reenforced by the Franks. "Italian inherited the same stress-accent from Vulgar Latin, but did not reenforce it, and still accentuates today as did the Latin of 400 A. D. Tuscany preserves that accent most faithfully." But where are our Longobards, who broke the Spezia-Rimini line? Did they, or did they not add to the stress-accent of Italy, as the Franks did to that of Gaul? And is it not barely possible that the original Vulgar Latin stress-accent, without benefit of Germanic intervention, may be responsible for Romance diphthongization and syncopation, occurring in different measure in the various Romance countries in accordance with the new historical, social, religious and psychological factors that became predominant in each section of Romania?

Von Wartburg displays to a considerable degree the tendency of many Romanists to push linguistic changes as far back in time as they will go. We find such statements as (page 38): "Italian has no final -s, and in this agrees with the rustic pronunciation of central Italy even in the Latin period;" and (page 40): "The displacement of the occlusive gutturals toward the palate is already definitely attested in the third century A. D." Classical philologists, who have no Romance axe to grind, have a different opinion, based upon a careful study of all the available evidence (cf. E. H. Sturtevant, *The Pronunciation of Greek and Latin*, Chicago, 1920, page 77: "It is unlikely that the early weakness of final -s after a short vowel has any connection with the loss of final -s in most Romance languages" and (page 107): "There is no valid evidence of a sibilant element in the pronunciation of c before e and i earlier than the sixth century, except a single epigraphical form," which is itself from 392 A. D.).

By way of compensation, von Wartburg refuses to admit (page 42) that the doubling of consonants immediately preceded by the accent or followed by *u* in hiatus took place in the Latin period, and claims that it is a Romance phenomenon; Latin *aqua* > *acqua* is one of the examples given. Is it possible that he has never seen the *aqua non aqua*, *camera non cammara*, *draco non dracco* of the *Appendix Probi*, or does he regard the latter as a Romance document?

A final example of the way in which substrate theories can be made to suit any purpose comes in the chapter on Italian and Tuscan. On page 67 we find a claim that *mb* > *mm*, *nd* > *nn*, *mp* > *mb*, *nt* > *nd*, current in large sections of central and southern Italy, are due to Oscan and Umbrian influences. Then, on page 73, we are regaled with a statement by Clemente Merlo, called by von Wartburg a "felicissima frase" that sums up the "grandiosa e commovente storia": "Tuscan, of the Florentine type, is a fine branch, born of the happy grafting, on the best Etruscan stock, of pure Latin, untroubled by Umbrian,

Oscan or Sabellic influences." But does not Etruscan constitute a substratum? Where does it appear in Tuscan? And if it does not appear, why not? What are its effects upon the development of "literary" Italian? How did the fine branch escape contamination from neighboring Oscan and Umbrian influences, which, according to substratum theorists, make themselves felt as far as Spain? Answers to these questions appear more and more imperative, if the position of the Italian language is to be made really clear.

MARIO A. PEI

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### TEXT-BOOKS

FRENCH. *Contemporary French Fiction*. Edited by Irene Cornwell. New York, Holt, 1940.—Whitmarsh, W. F. H., and C. D. Jukes, *Advanced French Course*. New York, Longmans, Green and Company, 1940.

SPANISH. Wilkins, Lawrence A., *Quinito en América*. (A Second Book in Spanish) New York, Holt, 1940.

## NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

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1. All manuscripts should be typewritten and double-spaced with ample margins.
2. Quotations in any language of over four or five typewritten lines will generally be printed in small roman as separate paragraphs (set-down matter). In the typescript such extracts should be in a separate paragraph single-spaced and should not be enclosed in quotation marks.
3. Titles of books and periodicals will be italicized and should be underlined in the typescript. Titles of articles, chapters and poems should be in roman enclosed in quotation marks.
4. In titles of English publications, in titles of periodicals in any language except German, and in divisions of English works (parts, chapters, sections, poems, articles, etc.), the first word and all the principal words should be capitalized. Ex:  
*The Comedy of Errors*
5. In the *Romanic Review* there appeared an article entitled "Flaubert's Correspondence with Louise Colet, Chronology and Notes." Such a repetition may be found in the Preface. (But: James Gray wrote the preface for the second edition.)
6. In an English passage French titles should have the article capitalized and underlined as part of the title. Ex: He read *La France vivante*. In a French passage, the article should be neither capitalized nor underlined. Ex: Il a lu la *France vivante* et l'*Histoire de la littérature française* de Lanson.
7. In an English passage, French and Italian titles should be capitalized as follows. The first word is always capitalized. If a substantive immediately follows an initial article, definite or indefinite, it is also capitalized. If the substantive is preceded by an adjective, this also receives a capital letter. If the title begins with any other word than an article or an adjective, the words following are all in lower-case. Ex: *Les Femmes savantes*; *La Folle Journée*; *L'Age ingrat*; *De la terre à la lune*; *Sur la piste*; *La Leda senza cigno*; *Scrittori del tempo nostro*; *I Narratori*; *Nell'azzurro*; *Piccolo Mondo antico*.
8. Spanish titles should have a capital only on the first word unless the title contains a proper noun. Ex: *Cantigas de amor e de maldizer*; *La perfecta casada*.
9. Words or phrases not in the language of the article, and not yet naturalized, will be italicized and should be underlined in the typescript. Consult the dictionary if in doubt. Ex: *genre*, *pièce à thèse*, *ancien régime*, *Zeitgeist*.
10. All quotations should correspond exactly with the original in wording, spelling, and punctuation. Words or phrases in quotations must not be italicized or underlined unless they are so in the original or unless it is indicated in a footnote that the italics have been added. Any interpolation in an extract should be indicated by enclosing it in brackets; any omission should be indicated by three periods. Ex: "It is this work [*Le Lys dans la vallée*] which—"; "Il est . . . absorbé par des travaux—."
11. Footnotes should be numbered consecutively throughout each article or book-review. In the text the note number should be printed as a superior figure (slightly above the typed line); at the head of the note itself, it should be a figure of normal size followed by a period (on a level with the typed line). Ex: At eighteen, he moved to Paris.<sup>1</sup>
12. John Palmer, *Studies in the Contemporary Theatre*, p. 48.
13. Footnotes may be typed into the article itself, separated from the text by ruled lines, or subjoined to the end of the text, on separate pages.
14. Note numbers in the text always follow the punctuation. Ex: There is no question as to the date of this edition.<sup>2</sup> As Flaubert stated,<sup>3</sup> he was willing to—.

13. Short references included in the text to save footnotes, should be enclosed in parentheses and should not contain abbreviations. In book-reviews this is often the easiest way to make a direct reference to the work which is being reviewed. Ex: In the Introduction (page 10), the author remarks—

14. Names should never be abbreviated. Even the name of the author of a work which is being reviewed should be written out each time that it is used.

15. All footnotes must begin with a capital letter and end with a period or some other final punctuation. Each note should contain an exact reference to the page or pages in question; the title is rarely enough. If a footnote refers to the same title cited in the preceding note, *ibid.* should be used to avoid repeating the title. If a note refers to a work already cited, but not cited in the preceding footnote, *op. cit.* should be used for a book, *loc. cit.* for an article. Such abbreviations should not ordinarily be used to refer farther back than the preceding page. Since the aim, however, is merely to avoid ambiguity, no rule need be laid down. Ex:

10. Cross, Slover, *Ancient Irish Tales*, p. 35.

11. Loomis, *Celtic Myth and Arthurian Romance*, p. 90.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 96-97.

13. W. A. Nitze, "Lancelot and Guenevere," *Speculum*, VIII, 240.

14. Loomis, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

15. Nitze, *loc. cit.*, p. 249.

16. In the citation of references the amount of bibliographical detail is left to the discretion of the contributor, but the order of the items should be presented as indicated below. Inclusion of items (3), (4), and (5) is optional with the contributor.

In the case of books cited, the form of reference should be as follows: (1) author's name, preceded by his first name or initials, (2) the title italicized (underlined), (3) where necessary, the edition, (4) place of publication, (5) name of publisher, (6) date of publication,

(7) reference to volume in capital roman numerals without preceding "Vol." or "V.", (8) reference to page in arabic numerals, preceded by "p." or "pp." only when there is no preceding reference to volume. Each item but the last should be followed by a comma; the last item should be followed by a period. Ex:

Albert Thibaudet, *Histoire de la littérature française de 1789 à nos jours*, Paris, Stock, 1936, p. 60.

H. O. Taylor, *The Mediaeval Mind*, 4th ed., New York, Macmillan, 1925, II, 221-225.

17. Reference to periodicals should include, wherever possible, volume number and page number or numbers. Where it is desirable to give the year also, it should follow the volume number, in parentheses. When it is impossible to give a volume number, the date of the issue should take its place. Ex:

*La Nouvelle Revue Française*, II (1909), 224.

*Les Nouvelles Littéraires*, 30 juillet 1932, p. 8.

18. The following periodicals should be abbreviated as follows in footnotes:

*Gröbers Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*—*GG*  
*Modern Language Journal*—*MLJ*  
*Modern Language Notes*—*MLN*  
*Modern Philology*—*MP*  
*Publications of the Modern Language Association*—*PMLA*  
*Romania*—*R*  
*Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France*—*RHL*  
*Revue de Littérature Comparée*—*RLC*  
*Romanic Review*—*RR*  
*Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur*—*ZFL*  
*Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*—*ZRP*

19. The following Latin words and abbreviations will be italicized and should be underlined in typescript. They should be capitalized only when they begin a footnote. *ca.* (about, in dates) *e.g.* (for instance), *et al.* (and others), *ibid.* (not *ib.* or *idem*, the same reference), *i.e.* (that is), *loc. cit.* (place cited), *op. cit.*

(work cited), *passim* (here and there), *sic* (thus), *vs.* (versus). Exceptions are: etc., *viz.*

20. The following abbreviations will appear in roman type and therefore should not be underlined in typescript; *cf.*, *f.*, *ff.* (following), *fol.*, *foll.* (folio, folios), *l.*, *ll.* (line, lines), *p.*, *pp.*, *vol.*, *vs.*, *vss.* (verses). *Mme* and *Mlle*, *MS* and *MISS* (manuscript, manuscripts) should be typed without periods.

21. Headings for book-reviews should follow these models:

*Jules Sandeau, l'homme et la vie.* Par

Mabel Silver. Paris, Boivin, 1936. Pp. 247.

*A History of French Dramatic Literature in the Seventeenth Century.* By Professor Henry Carrington Lancaster. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press. *Part I* (1610-1634), 2 vols., 1929. Pp. 785. *Part II* (1635-1651), 2 vols., 1932. Pp. 804. *Part III* (1652-1672), 2 vols., 1936. Pp. 896.

22. All references in the completed manuscript should be verified before it is submitted for publication.

23. Contributors should retain an accurate carbon copy of their manuscripts.

